KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI
COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Mahamahopadhyaya

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Commemoration Volume

Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Darśanakalānidhi Kulapati

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. (RETIRED),

Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, 1914—1935.

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on his retirement from Government service as

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In pursuance of a resolution passed by the subscribers to the Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial, this Volume has been prepared with the help and co-operation of scholars in India, Europe and America. The fact that several of the Studies are by the Professor's own pupils is a measure of his influence as a teacher ; while the number and importance of the contributions from sister Universities in India and abroad signify the respect in which he is held by those most competent to judge.

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Contributions

		Page
1.	Bhagavatam *By MM. Ganganatha Jha*	1
2.	Saktibhadra's Place in the History of Sanskrit Literature *By Prof. M. Winternitz*	3
3.	Parasu-Rama *By Dr. Jarl Charpentier*	9
4.	Dakshinavartanatha and his Commentary on the Meghaduta *By Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya*	17
5.	The Doctrine of Avatara in Bengal Vaisnavism *By Dr. S. K. De*	25
6.	The Meter of the Saddharmapundarika *By Prof. Franklin Edgerton*	39
7.	Date of Subhuticandra's Commentary on the Amarakosa *By Mr. P. K. Gode*	47
8.	A Forgotten Event of Shah Jehan's Reign—Kavindracandrodaya *By Dr. Har Dutt Sharma*	53
9.	Archaeology in Baroda *By Dr. Hirananda Sastri*	61
10.	Some Indian Words in the Oxford English Dictionary *By Prof. Amaranatha Jha*	65
11.	Babylon and India *By Prof. A. B. Keith*	67
12.	Sankara and the World *By Prof. Kokileswara Sastri*	73
13.	A Note on Sakapuni *By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja*	81
14.	Jainism and Advaita Vedanta *By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri*	85
15.	Riti *By Mr. V. Raghavan*	89
16.	Public opinion in Ancient India—A Bird's-eye View *By Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar*	119

CONTRIBUTIONS (Contd.)

		PAGE
17.	The Dynamism of the Indian Concept of Rasa *By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri*	.. 123
18.	Rasa Aspect of the Malatimadhava *By Mr. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri*	.. 129
19.	Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variation *By Mr. C. R. Sankaran*	.. 133
20.	Jayadeva *By Mr. P. Seshadri*	.. 141
21.	Light on the Vedangajyotisa *By MM. Dr. R. Shama Sastri*	.. 143
22.	A Passage on Painting-Process from Nannechoda's Kumara-sambava *By Mr. C. Sivaramamurti*	.. 151
23.	A Contribution to the Problem of the Relation between Karma, Jnana and Moksa *By Dr. Otto Strauss*	.. 159
24.	The Chronology of the Madhva Pontiffs *By Prof. P. P. S. Sastri*	.. 167
25.	Navaratnamala *By Mr. S. T. G. Varadachari*	.. 171
	Dates in Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's Career	.. 173
	Chronological List of the Writings of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri	.. 174

Bhāgavatam

By

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Which is the Purāṇa meant to be included *par excellence* under the name '*Bhāgavatam*' as occurring in the texts enumerating the "Eighteen Purāṇas"?

This question has agitated the minds of Pandits for several hundred years, if not more. Some people have held that it is the *Purāṇa* generally known as '*Śrīmadbhāgavatam*' which is the real *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*; others have held, equally zealously, that it is the *Purāṇa* known as '*Devī-Bhāgavatam*'. The doubt is due mainly to the fact that etymologically the name is applicable equally to both the works. The term '*bhāgavatam*' may be explained as '*bhagavataḥ idam*', 'pertaining to the Blessed Lord'—in which case it applies to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavatam*, as dealing mainly with the deeds of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa,—and also as '*bhagavatyāḥ idam*', 'pertaining to the Blessed Lady',—in which case it applies to the *Devī-Bhāgavatam*, as dealing mainly with the deeds of the Devī, in Her several manifestations.

This question has, therefore, been a bone of contention between the '*Vaiṣṇava*' worshipper of *Bhagavān*, and the '*Śākta*' worshipper of *Bhagavatī*. The controversy on this point has been carried on with much ingenuity and also, at times, with much acrimony; and the question continues to be as moot as ever.

In the course of my study of the *Purāṇas*, I came by the following verse in the *Śiva-Purāṇa* (Shrī-Venkateshvara Press Edition, Poona, 372—i—*Śloka* 129)—

भगवत्याश्च दुर्गायाश्चरितं यत्र वर्ण्यते ।
तत्तु भागवतं प्रोक्तं ननु देवीपुराणकम् ॥

This may roughly be rendered as to mean that 'that work, the Devī-Purāṇa, is declared to be the *Bhāgavata* wherein are described the deeds of *Bhagavatī Durgā*.'

To which of the two Purāṇas this definition is applicable?—on that point, I do not feel competent to dogmatise. That must be left to be

decided by some one who has devoted more time and attention to the close study of the two works than I have been able to do. But on the face of it, the definition found in the *Śivapurāṇa* (above) would appear to be more applicable to the *Devī-Bhāgavatam* than to the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam*. But one cannot be very sure on these points.

•

Śaktibhadra's Place in the History of Sanskrit Literature

By

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Among the many valuable contributions to our knowledge of Sanskrit literature which we owe to Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Professor *S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī,* in whose honour these lines are written, is the highly valuable Introduction which he has contributed to the *editio princeps* of the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* with its commentary published in 1926 in the Śrī Bālamanoramā Series No. 9.

During the last ten years or so, quite a number of new Sanskrit dramas have come to light, which have now to find their place in the history of Sanskrit literature. Amongst these the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of the Malabar poet *Śaktibhadra* is perhaps one of the greatest literary merit. At any rate, we can quite agree with the Mahāmahopādhyāya in saying "that it is the best of the Rāma-plays, perhaps, barring Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita in certain respects." Of course, Bhavabhūti, the sovereign master of Sanskrit poetical language, is the greater poet. But as regards dramatic action and appropriateness for the stage, Śaktibhadra's drama surpasses even the Uttararāmacarita.

The characteristic feature of the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi is the dominating *adbhutarasa.* It will be difficult to find such an accumulation of wonders in any other Sanskrit play, as we find in the seven acts of the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. We see the Rākṣasī Śūrpaṇakhā, now as a seductive charming woman, and then again in her terrible demoniac shape, a giantess cutting the clouds with her knife-like finger-nails, etc. (Acts I & II), the demon Mārīca in the shape of the golden antelope, the wonderful crest-jewel and the miraculous ring, by which demons are forced to show their true form, Rāvaṇa and his charioteer appearing as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and Śūrpaṇakhā as Sītā (Act III), the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa in the shape of Rāma, Rāvaṇa's fight with the heavenly bird Jaṭāyus (Act IV), the ten-headed Rāvaṇa trying in vain to win the love of the unfortunate Sītā (Act V), the ape Hanūmat, Rāma's trusty friend, bringing a happy message to Sītā (Act VI), and finally—the wonder of all wonders—Sītā's fire-ordeal (Act VII), when Agni and all the gods appear to vouch for the purity of the faithful wife, and Nārada brings the heavenly car Puṣpaka, in which Rāma and Sītā are to be taken to

Ayodhyā. Scene follows upon scene, like moving pictures in a cinematograph.

Attention was first drawn to the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi by *A. Krishna Pisharoti* and *K. Rama Pisharoti* in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. III, Part 1, p. 107 ff., and again by *A. Krishna Pisharoti* in his Criticism "Bhāsa's Works", (Trivandrum, 1925). He accepts the tradition current in Malabar, according to which Śaktibhadra, a Kerala Brahman from the Chengannoor Gramam—now in Middle Travancore,—was a disciple of the great Śaṅkarācārya, and thus lived about the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. No serious objection can be raised against this dating, though we should like to have a more definite proof than this rather vague tradition. But if we accept the date, we shall have to assume, that before this time there was no original Sanskrit drama in the Kerala land. For when, in the prologue, the Sūtradhāra says, that he is going to produce the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, a play coming from the South, the Naṭī replies: "Sir, that is most astonishing indeed: the sky brings forth a flower, oil is pressed from the sands, if from the Southern region a dramatic composition has come forth." On the Sūtradhāra rebuking her for her narrow provincialism—janmābhiniveśa,—she cannot but admit that the South is a storehouse of precious things, and asks, who that poet was, who wished to send the produce of his genius to another country. Whereupon the Sūtradhāra discloses to her, that it is Śaktibhadra, the author of Unmādavāsavadattā and other poetic compositions.

From this it follows that the drama is not supposed to be staged in a Southern country, but that the author was a native of the South. The whole passage clearly presupposes that Śaktibhadra wrote his dramas before the time of *Kulaśekhara Varman,* the author of the two dramas Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa and Subhadrādhanañjaya, who is credited with the reformation of the Kerala stage and the adaptation of the Sanskrit drama to this reformed stage. *A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar* seems to have made it probable, that this king ruled between 935 and 955 A.D.; *K. Rama Pisharoti,* it is true, assigns him to the middle of the eighth century A.D. This date, however, is based only on an *argumentum ex silentio,* viz., on the fact that in the prologue of Kulaśekhara's Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa, the mahākavis Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa and Daṇḍin are mentioned, but not Bhāsa, Bhavabhūti, and Śaktibhadra. But surely the Naṭī who asks the Sūtradhāra, if he is going to stage a composition of one of the great poets Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa, Daṇḍin and so on (*Suddaa—Kāḷidāsa—Harṣa—Daṇḍippamuhāṇam mahākaiṇam*), is not bound to give a complete catalogue of the poets known at the time. That the names are chosen at random, may be concluded from the mentioning of Daṇḍin,

who is not known as a dramatist, while we should expect only authors of dramas to be mentioned.

While *K. Rama Pisharoti* thinks that Kulaśekhara cannot have lived after the time of Śaktibhadra, because this "first dramatist of Kerala" is not mentioned by him, it seems far more plausible that Śaktibhadra must have lived before Kulaśekhara, on account of the above quoted passage in the prologue of Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi.

Even if we follow the tradition which makes Śaktibhadra, a disciple of Śaṅkara, who is said to have rescued the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi from oblivion by reciting it from his memory, after the work was accidentally burnt, it would only follow that Śaktibhadra lived in the ninth century A.D. and he may have been a predecessor of the dramatist Kulaśekhara.

There can be no doubt that Śaktibhadra is later than Kālidāsa. It has already been shown by Professor *Kuppuswami Śāstrī* (Introd. p. 10 ff.,) that Śaktibhadra was well acquainted with the poetry of Kālidāsa. I might add another parallel passage, viz., Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Act VI, verse 18, where Hanūmat proves himself to be Rāma's messenger by repeating words of Rāma in which he reminds Sītā of a love scene in her chamber, just as the Cloud reminds the Yakṣa's wife of a bedroom scene in Meghadūta II, 48 (*bhūyaś cāha tvam api śayane kaṇṭhalagnā*, etc.).

It seems to me less certain, that Āśc., Act VI, verse 21 (*veṇīṃ kareṇa tava mokṣyati devi devaḥ*), was suggested by Veṇīsaṃhāra 1, 21, as the learned Professor thinks, though it is quite possible that the drama of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who lived in the eighth century A.D., was known to Śaktibhadra.

There is no indication of Śaktibhadra having been acquainted with Bhavabhūti's Rāma dramas.

Prof. *Kuppuswami Śāstrī*, in his Introduction, and other scholars, have investigated the relation of Śaktibhadra's Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi to the plays ascribed to Bhāsa in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. They have pointed out agreements between Śaktibhadra's play with those ascribed to Bhāsa, from which they conclude that there would be better reasons to ascribe the Trivandrum plays to Śaktibhadra than to Bhāsa. *They do not mean to say* that they are actually plays of Śaktibhadra, but only wish to show up the weakness of the arguments in favour of Bhāsa's authorship of those plays.

We should naturally compare, first of all, the two Rāma dramas, ascribed to Bhāsa in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, the Pratimā and the Abhiṣeka Nāṭakas, with the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. In doing so, we

come across some more or less striking coincidences, literal agreements, especially in the use of the same stock phrases. But on the other hand, the way in which the original story of the Rāmāyaṇa has been worked up by Śaktibhadra, and by the author of the Pratimā and Abhiṣeka Nāṭakas, is quite different.

There are certain points of technique in which the three dramas agree, which have been pointed out by Professor *Kuppuswami Śastrī* (p. 17 ff). But these (the beginning with *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*, and the designation of the prologue as *sthāpanā*) are, as I have shown elsewhere, the same which we find in South Indian MSS. of other dramas also, and do not prove anything.

Of the other parallelisms that have been pointed out between the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi and the Abhiṣeka, there is one that is very striking indeed. When in the Abhiṣeka (Act VI) Lakṣmaṇa tells Rāma that Sītā, after having learned his intention of abandoning her, because she has been sullied by the touch of the demon, begs his permission to enter the fire (*āryasyābhiprāyaṃ śrutvaivāgnipraveśāya prasādam pratipālayaty āryā,*) Rāma replies: *Lakṣmaṇa, asyāḥ pativratāyāś chandam anutiṣṭha,* "Lakṣmaṇa, comply with the wish of the faithful wife." The very same words are spoken by Rāma in the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi (p. 219) though it is here Sītā herself who addresses to Rāma the words: *anumadā ajjutteṇa aggiṃ pavisadu kāmam hi* "with my lord's permission to enter the fire," and though the words *asyāḥ pativratāyāḥ* are little appropriate (unless taken as bitter irony, as in Act VII, verse 16) in the mouth of Rāma who shortly before has cruelly abused her as a wanton woman (*puṃscalī*). For in consequence of a boon granted by Anasūyā, alluded to already in Act II, (s. Rāmāyaṇa II, 118), Sītā appeared before Rāma not as a faithful wife, when separated from her husband should appear, but in all her beauty with her breasts smeared with sandal paste, her tuft of hair scented and decked by flowers, wearing a beautiful garment.

Another striking literal agreement has been pointed out by *Hiranand Sastri* (I.c. p. 15). Both at the end of Act II in Abhiṣeka (p. 24) and in Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Act VI (p. 204) Sītā asks Hanūmat to inform Rāma of her miserable condition in such a way, that he may not be overpowered by grief: *ajjautto jaha soaparavaso na hoi taha me uttaṃtaṃ tassa bhaṇehi.*

These literal agreements can only be explained by assuming that they come from the same source, perhaps from some popular Rāma-play. Other parallelisms, however, which have been pointed out, are stock phrases of a kind which may easily occur in different plays. Thus the bathing time for a king is announced behind the scene with the same

words : *jayatu devaḥ*, etc., *daśanāḍikāḥ pūrṇāḥ, atikrāmati snānavelā*, etc., in Āśc., Act V, p. 177, as in Abhiṣeka, Act II, (p. 20 f.), and also in Avimāraka, Act I (p. 13). The phrase *akaruṇā khu issarā*, " merciless indeed are the gods," occurs in Āśc., Act IV (p. 140), and also in Svapnavāsavadatta, Act III (p. 25) and Act VI (p. 56). The dialogues preceding the Bharatavākya : *kiṃ te bhūyaḥ priyam upaharāmi*, and *siḍḍhārtho haṃ kim ataḥ param icchāmi, tathāpyetāvad astu bharatavākyam* at the end of the Āśc., is similar to that in Abhiṣeka, Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa and Avimāraka.

When in a list of gods, Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Act V, verse 13 and Abhiṣeka, Act VI, verse 33, both have : *Yama-Varuṇa-Kubera-Vāsavādi*, or when in both plays a king is greeted with *jayatu svāmī, jayatu mahārājaḥ*, etc., we have certainly to deal with stereotyped phrases, and not with striking parallels.

Sometimes the identity of the situation explains the use of the same expressions. Thus, when we have the stage direction : *tataḥ praviśati Hanūmān aṅgulīyakahastaḥ*, both at the beginning of Āśc., Act VI, and in Abhiṣeka, Act II, p. 15, or when Hanūmat on seeing Rāvaṇa's palace, calls out : *aho nu khalu rākṣasanagarasya parā lakṣmīḥ*/in Āśc.,/and *aho Rāvaṇabhavanasya vinyāsaḥ* (in Abhiṣ).

In Abhiṣeka, Act II, verse 11, the love-sick Rāvaṇa looks at the moon, rising in the sky, " shining like a silver mirror," and tormenting with his net of beams the lover's heart. In Āśc., at the beginning of Act V, there is a dialogue between the love-sick Rāvaṇa and his minister, where the rising moon is described in 4 verses, and the lover complains that there is no difference between the Moon and the Sun, as the rays of the moon are burning hot in his very face. If there could be any relation between the two plays, we should have to assume, that Śaktibhadra was enlarging here on the passage in the Abhiṣeka.

I should not attach too much importance to the occurrence of the same phrases, when way is to be made for some worthy person with the words : *ussaraha ussaraha ayyā ussaraha*/Āśc., Act VIII, and Pratijñā, Act IV,/or when Sītā who is carried away by Rāvaṇa, calls for help with *ajjautta parittāāhi parittāāhi somitti parittāāhi parittāāhi maṃ*, in Āśc., Act IV, p. 136, and in Pratimā, Act V, p. 86, or when Rāvaṇa rushes against Jaṭāyu with : *āḥ tiṣṭhedānīm* in Āśc., Act IV, p. 139 and in Pratimā, Act V, p. 87 ; or when we find the same stage direction : *nepathye divyagandharvā gāyanti* both in Āśc., Act VII, p. 223, and in Abhiṣeka, Act VI, p. 72. The songs which follow, are quite different in the two plays, except that Viṣṇu is praised in them in both dramas.

Hirananda Sastri has also pointed out certain agreements in vocabulary, such as *bhartṛpiṇḍa* (Āśc., Act III, p. 112 and Pratijñā, Act IV, verse 3), and *ghattissam* (Āśc., Act II, p. 66 and Pratijñā, p. 18). But he also mentions some " parallelisms ", which hardly deserve to be called so, and some, which do not prove anything.

However, the parallelisms, which cannot be denied, that exist between Śaktibhadra's play on the one hand and the Trivandrum plays on the other, suffice to make it certain that they belong to the same circle or school of dramatists, whose home was the Kerala country.

There seem to have been frequent representations of the Rāma story in the temples of Kerala, some kind of popular plays, in which a number of stock phrases became stereotyped. After the pattern of these plays both the Trivandrum dramas and the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi seem to be made.

However, in spite of all agreements and parallelisms, the great differences should not be forgotten. The abduction of Sītā as represented in Pratimānāṭaka, Act V, is quite different from that in Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Act IV. Not so great is the difference between the description of Sītā's fire-ordeal in Āśc., Act VII, and in Abhiṣeka, Act VI, except that the latter follows more closely Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.

This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of the Bhāsa problem. But whoever may be the author of the Pratimā and Abhiṣeka Nāṭakas, one thing is certain, he is not identical with Śaktibhadra. For it would be absurd to think that one and the same poet should have dramatised exactly the same subject in two different ways.

It is to be hoped that MSS. of Śaktibhadra's Unmādavāsavadattā, of which we hitherto know only the name, and a complete copy of the Vīṇāvāsavadatta, of which there exists only a fragmentary MS., may still be discovered. At present it would be idle guessing to say anything about the relation of these works to the Svapnavāsavadatta and the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, ascribed to Bhāsa in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

In the present state of our knowledge, we can say no more than that Śaktibhadra probably flourished in the ninth century A.D., and was not far removed from Kulaśekhara Varman, the reformer of the Kerala stage, and that his drama Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi shares certain peculiarities in style and technique with other plays belonging to the repertoire of the Cākkyars of Malabar.

Paraśu-Rāma

The main outlines of his legend.

Dr. Jarl Charpentier,
Upsala-Sweden.

Amongst all the obscure and puzzling figures of Hindu Mythology Paraśu-Rāma occupies one of the foremost places. And while heroes like Rāma Dāśarathi or Arjuna can only evoke our sympathy and admiration he also appears to us singularly unsympathetic. He is vainglorious, self-seeking, and cruel; and the tradition scarcely reveals one single trait in this curious character that might evoke our deeper feelings. Thus he remains a puzzle and, besides, a dark and ominous one.

The following short remarks can in no way pretend to solve the riddles connected with Paraśu-Rāma. They are only meant to put together the main outlines of his legend and to try to draw some conclusions from them.

Rāma Bhārgava or *Jāmadagnya* does not seem to be known to Vedic lore.[1] On the other hand he is a well-known figure in the Great Epic; as, however, he cannot well ever have had any direct dealings with the heroes of the Mahābhārata and, consequently, does not enter into the main epic action we cannot decide whether he was known to the oldest Bhārata-poem[2] or not. And the additional parts of the Great Epic are unfortunately so far quite undateable—except that a collection of some 100,000 *ślokas* must have been in existence by the latest about 500 A.D., which really means during the reign of the last of the Great Guptas. Thus the oldest passage, which can be dated with any degree of certainty, where we meet with Rāma, seems to be Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* IX, 25.

1. The *Ait. Br.* VII, 27-3, presents the well-known episode of *Rāma Mārgaveya*, a priest of the Śyāparṇas and a contemporary of the great Janamejaya. An interchange between *m* and *bh* is well attested to (cf. especially Mr. Przyluski *JA*, 1926: I, 3 *sqq.*; 1929: I, 313 *sqq.* and *BSL.* XXX (1930), 196 *sqq.*), and it would be well possible that *Mārgaveya* and *Bhārgava* might be connected in this way. If such were the case the form with *m* would probably be the original one, and then *Bhṛgu* would really be a later development of *Mṛgu*. However, I fail to discover any possible connection on historical or legendary reasons, between Paraśu-Rāma and this otherwise unknown *Rāma Mārgaveya*.

2. This was probably the *Mahābhārata* mentioned by Pāṇini VI, 2, 38, which would at any rate bring us as far back as about 500 B.C.

Bhīṣmeṇa Gaṅgodarasambhavena Rāmeṇa Rāmeṇa ca Bhārgaveṇa |
Śrutvā kṛtaṃ karma pituḥ priyārtham pitus tvam apy arhasi kartum iṣṭam ||

For there can be little doubt, in face of a wholly unanimous tradition, that Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Kaniṣka; and to the present writer there can also be little doubt that Kaniṣka was really the founder of the Śaka era (78 A.D.).[3] Aśvaghoṣa apparently was conversant with the story of Jamadagni, Reṇukā and Rāma Jāmadagnya; for his words can allude to nothing else.

If then we turn to the Mahābhārata we shall find the story of Rāma Jamadagnya more or less completely told in several passages. The most extensive one seems to be III, 114-117. The introductory paragraph (114) tells us how the Pāṇḍavas on their pilgrimage reached the Vaitaraṇī in Kaliṅga, where was the altar of Kaśyapa, and how they rested at Mt. Mahendra.[4] There they meet with Akṛtavraṇa, a votary of Jāmadagnya, who tells them the main outlines of his story. In 115 we hear about Arjuna Kārttavīrya, his thousand arms, his favour with Dattātreya and his oppression of the gods.[5] We further hear about the wooing of Satyavatī, daughter of Gādhi, by Ṛcīka, son of Bhṛgu, and of their wedding. A very primitive-looking story is told concerning the conception of a son by Satyavatī; and after various events, which can well be left aside as being rather unimportant, she bears the great sage Jamadagni.

Jamadagni in due time married Reṇukā, the daughter of a certain king Prasenajit; she bore him five sons, the youngest of whom was Rāma. When Reṇukā became enamoured of King Citraratha of Mārttikāvata, Jamadagni ordered his sons to kill her. The four elder ones

3. Professor Konow's fancies concerning the Śaka era (Corpus Inscr. Ind. II: 1, p. *lxxxvii sqq.*), which he wants wholly to disconnect from Kaniṣka, have been ably refuted by Professor Rapson *J.R.A.S.*, 1930 p. 191, *sqq.* To this criticism no adequate answer has been forthcoming.

4. Such a passage, according to my humble opinion, cannot belong to any especially ancient part of the Epic. The Pāṇḍavas were rulers of the Ganges-Jumna Districts and had their main connections with the North-West; it seems utterly incredible that at the period, when they may have flourished, pilgrimages were undertaken towards the holy places of Bengal and Orissa.

5. That Rāma Jāmadagnya killed an oppressor of the Gods (Arjuna), just as the man-lion killed Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāma Dāśarathi annihilated Rāvaṇa, may have given the start to his being looked upon as an *avatāra*. Dattātreya also is an *avatāra*, though apparently a rather late one (cp. Hopkins *Epic Mythology*, pp. 184, 218).

refused to perform such a heinous crime and, in consequence of their disobedience, became deranged in their minds. Rāma, however, decapitated Reṇukā with his axe. Jamadagni then granted him all his wishes, and thus the mother was revivified,[6] the brothers became of sound mind again, and Rāma himself from hence became invincible in battle.

Arjuna Kārttavīrya, displeased with his reception in the hermitage of Jamadagni, carried off the calf of the *homa*-cow, whereupon Rāma with his arrows cut off his arms and killed him. Afterwards, Rāma having gone to the forest to fetch fuel, the sons of Arjuna killed Jamadagni (116). Upon this Rāma not only slew the real culprits but also twenty-one times annihilated the Kṣattriyas. With their blood he filled the five tanks at Samantapañcaka ; finally, however, Ṛcīka stopped his revolting bloodshed. Rāma now performed a great sacrifice[7] and gave the earth as *dakṣiṇā* to the officiating priest. He himself retired to Mt. Mahendra where he was still seen by the Pāṇḍavas (117).[8]

The same story is told, although only in parts and in a more compendious form, in XII, 49, sqq. The end of that episode is the following : when at the end of the *aśvamedha* Rāma had bequeathed the earth to Kaśyapa, this one exiled him to the border of the Southern Ocean. There the sea prepared for him a residence at *Śūrpāraka* (Sopārā) in Konkan (*Aparāntamahītale*). We shall have something to say presently on the connection between Paraśu-Rāma and Śūrpāraka.

In VII, Fo, 1 sqq. Rāma Jāmadagnya is said to have annihilated Arjuna and the Warrior Caste with his arrow (*dhanus*), his sword (*asi*), his club (*musala*), and his axe (*paraśu*).[9] After his victories he built the golden *vedi* on the Vaitaraṇī and gave the earth to Kaśyapa, *hayamedhe mahāmakhe.*[10] Kaśyapa, however, at once drove him away from the inhabited earth—probably because of the sin he had incurred by

6. With the ressurrection of Reṇukā is connected the curious legend of the pariah woman, which became known to Goethe through the works of Dapper and Sonnerat. Literature on this subject is found in my edition of the *Livro da Seita dos indios Orientais* (*Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane* 1820) *of Father Jacobo Fenicio, S.J.* (*Upsala* 1933) p. 207.

7. Apparently as *aśvamedha.*

8. Paraśu-Rāma, of course, is a *cirajīvin* of whom there seem generally to be seven, the other ones being *Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa, Vyāsa, Hanumant, Vibhīṣaṇa* and *Bali.* To these is sometimes added *Mārkaṇḍeya.* According to certain traditions *Agastya* is also a *cirajīvin* and living at Rāmeśvaram.

9. This weapon he had obtained from Śiva after worshipping him on the Gandhamādana.

10. According to VII, 2444 : *Iṣṭvā kratuśataiḥ.* Paraśu-Rāma even appears as a *Śatakratu.*

shedding streams of human blood—and he then conquered some land from the ocean by means of his arrows and sat down on Mahendra.

Finally in III, 99, 34 sqq. We find the story of his meeting with Rāma Dāśarathi[11] who spans his bow and then appears to him in his true shape as Viṣṇu. Jāmadagnya, having thus lost his *tejas*, retired to Mahendra; after a year he, however, recovered his lost glory at the *tīrtha* of Bhṛgutuṅga.

These are the main features of the story of Paraśu-Rāma as contained in the Great Epic.[12] There are, however, outside the Mahābhārata tradition, certain legends of him to which we shall now turn.[13]

The chief interest centres in the stories told of how Paraśu-Rāma recovered land from the ocean. In the Mahābhārata he generally resides on Mt. Mahendra, which is undoubtedly connected with the tradition that his golden altar was on the Vaitaraṇī, and that there he celebrated his aśvamedha. This may be a fairly old Orissan tradition; but though it has gained entrance into the Great Epic it seems to one decidedly to be of secondary origin. For there is little doubt that, according to traditions which are still flourishing, the land which Paraśu-Rāma recovered from the sea was Konkan (*Aparānta*); and his chief residences were Śūrpāraka (Sopārā) and Mt. Sahyādri. South Indian traditions also have it that the land recovered was in reality Malabar or even the whole stretch of land below the Ghats from Gokarṇa to Cape Comorin; but these stories are apparently of later origin.

Already the Mahābhārata tells us that Rāma Jāmadagnya intimidated the ocean by shooting an arrow across it, and this is repeated in later sources. According to another tradition he performed the same feat by hurling his axe from Gokarṇa to Comorin.[14] Finally a third version tells us that Paraśu-Rāmā in a magical way produced a corn-swing (*Śūrpa*), which he threw across the waves or simply shook and thus made the sea

11. Cp. *Rāmāyaṇa* I, 74-76, gloriously paraphrased by Kālidāsa Raghuvaṃśa XI, 59 *sqq.*

12. The story of Rāma Jāmadagnya and Karṇa (VIII, 42; cp. the introductory dialogue of the Trivandrum play *Karṇabhāra*) as far as I know is mentioned nowhere else and does not belong to the original legend of Paraśu-Rāma.

13. Most of the available literature on this extra-epic tradition has been quoted in my edition of Fenicio mentioned above pp. 205-208.

14. To this tradition there exists a curious Irish parallel. Tuirbe Trāgmar, father of Gobań Saer, used to hurl his axe from a hill in the full of the flood-tide, forbidding the sea to proceed beyond the axe. cp. Stokes *Revue Celtique* XVI (1895) 77; *Folk-lore* IV, 488 *sq.*

recede from the foot of the Ghats. The *Śūrpa* no doubt is a magical instrument,[15] and is used for various arts of sorcilege and divination. What does, however, interest us most in this connection is that the name *Śūrpāraka* (Sopārā) must undoubtedly be derived from *Śūrpa*, and that consequently the foundation of that port was connected by tradition with the recovery of the Konkan by Paraśu-Rāma.[16] As *Śūrpāraka* must have existed as a place of some importance already at the time of Aśoka (c. 250 B.C.) we might thus be able to carry the story of Rāma's recovery of land from the ocean by means of his *Śūrpa* at least into the third or fourth century B.C.

Into the land thus recovered by the sea, Paraśu-Rāma according to one tradition led Brahmins from the North. However, other traditions, for which documentary evidence is found in my edition of Fenicio *l.c.*, tell us that he turned fishermen into Brahmins, making sacrificial cords from their nets ; that he raised ship-wrecked corpses to life and turned them into Konkanasth Brahmins ; or even that he created the Karhāḍ Brahmins from camel bones. The relative age and value of these various traditions is, unfortunately, not known.

The name of Paraśu-Rāma is also connected with the origin of several castes especially in the South, many of whom are of rather low standing.

There is also a tradition that Paraśu-Rāma with his axe cleft a passage through the Himālaya. This story is perhaps most expressively referred to in the well-known verse, *Meghadūta*, 57 :

prāleyādrer upataṭam atikramya tāṃs taṅ viśeṣān
haṃsadvāram Bhṛgupatiyaśovartma yat Krauñcarandhram |
tenodīcīṃ diśam anusares tiryagāyāmaśobhī
śyāmaḥ pādo Baliniyamanābhyudyatasyeva Viṣṇoḥ ||

and is shortly alluded to in the *Raghuvaṃśa* XI, 4 : *bibhrato' stram acale' py akuṇṭhitam*, etc. Later traditions have it that Paraśu-Rāma with his axe opened a way for the Brahmaputra.

There are also numerous other stories told of our hero—especially in Southern India—but they generally seem to be of late origin and are of no importance for our present purpose.

15. To the references collected in my edition of Fenicio p. 206 may be added Fehrle *Archivf. Rel. Wiss.* XIX, 547 *sqq.*; Marmorstein *ibid. XXI*, 235 *sqq.*; J.J. *Meyer WZKM.* XLII, 112 *sqq.*

16. This I have proved to some extent in *JRAS.* 1927, p. 111 *sqq.*

If after this we throw a glance at the figure of Paraśu-Rāma, it at once strikes us that only in texts of fairly late origin is he considered to be an avatāra of Viṣṇu. The passages from the Great Epic quoted above contain nothing about his being an *avatāra ;* nor does the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa or even the Raghuvamśa know anything of his connection with the Supreme God. It is only in the very latest parts of the Mahābhārata, in the Harivaṃśa, and in certain Purāṇas that he figures in the various lists of *avatāras.*[17] And the conclusion seems inevitable that at least in their present shape such passages must be younger than Kālidāsa who flourished during the fifth century A.D. Consequently Paraśu-Rāma did not become generally recognised as an *avatāra* until after that date.

It has been pointed out above that Paraśu-Rāma was probably originally connected with the Konkan and Mt. Sahyādri, and that his connections with Malabar and Orissa are most probably secondary ones. Śūrpāraka (Sopārā), the capital of Aparānta (Konkan), was in some way connected with the story of how Paraśu-Rāma recovered the coast-land below the Ghats from the ocean ; and as Sopārā must have existed some time before the period of Aśoka the legend and perhaps even the cult of Paraśu-Rāma may have existed in Aparānta[18] already in the third or fourth century B.C. May be he was already at an early date looked upon locally as an *avatāra,* and perhaps this idea spread from the Konkan towards the South and the East—for although not unknown in the North his fame seems to be less great in that direction. His original connection with the Konkan is underlined by the fact that his chief opponent, Arjuna Kārttavīrya, was king of the Haihayas, who lived between the Chambal and the Narbadā,[19] and had for his capital Māhiṣmatī on the last-mentioned river.[20]

Paraśu-Rāma was son of the great *ṛṣi* Jamadagni but his mother was the daughter of a king ; and the mother of Jamadagni again was daughter of king Gādhi of Kānyakubja. Although in the later tradition, looked upon as a paragon of Brahmin pride and the protoganist of Brahmin rights and prerogatives, Paraśu-Rāma filled no priestly functions. He led the life of a warrior and handled the arms instead of the sacrificial utensils. He even celebrated at least one *aśvamedha,* which was always

17. cp. Hopkins *Epic Mythology* pp. 211, 217 *sq.*

18. *Aparānta(ka)*, as is well known, is mentioned in the Rock-Edicts, cp. *JRAS.* 1927, p. 111, No. 2.

19. cp. *CHI.* I, 316.

20. cp. *CHI.* I, 603.

looked upon as the sacrifice especially belonging to the royal caste. Like the kings of yore he bestowed the whole earth as a *dakṣiṇā* upon the officiating priests. Into his new dominion he either introduced Brahmins from the North[21] or created new ones in one way or other. It cannot be denied that tradition scarcely supports the suggestion that Paraśu-Rāma was originally living according to strict Brahmin rules. He rather appears to have belonged to a period and to surroundings where the difference between the royal and the priestly class was less strong than it became later on. If the strict caste system originated in Madhyadeśa and thence spread in various directions, Paraśu-Rāma may well have belonged to a period when it had not fully penetrated Konkan, which was perhaps rather lately colonised from the North. We have also every reason to remember that according to the generally accepted genealogy, Viśvāmitra, who from having been a prince finally turned Brahmin, was the paternal grand-uncle of Paraśu-Rāma.

It does not seem impossible to me that some sort of historical happenings lie at the bottom of the story of Paraśu-Rāma and the Kṣattriyas. He cannot well have annihilated the whole warrior caste—and that even at twenty-one repeated occasions; for Kṣattriyas continued to exist in plenty even after his time; and the story of the pregnant Kṣattriya-wives is only a sort of poor make-up which may well be left aside. What Paraśu-Rāma did was probably that he rooted out clans of warriors of foreign descent, who were at that time in possession of the Konkan and the regions bordering upon it. And it seems fairly safe to suggest that after this he led into those parts an invasion of Northern Brahmins and of people who lived according to the rules of a Brahminized Society.

Unfortunately, Paraśu-Rāma's war against some foreign Kṣattriyas cannot be identified with any invasion of the Konkan known to exact historical research. It must belong to a more remote time which is known to us only through the rather contorted traditions surviving within the Great Epic. However, I feel fairly convinced that the story of Paraśu-Rāma, Arjuna Kārttavīrya, and the Kṣattriyas was originally an episode in the long story of the spread of North Indian civilization and institutions towards the South. Undoubtedly the way of the Northern invaders at first lay along the Western coast through Konkan, Kanara, and Malabar. To the Brahminized invaders of the Konkan, Paraśū-Rāma became the great hero, who was thought to have won land from the sea, and who

21. Tradition does not tell us from where in the North. If, however, Paraśu-Rāma had really any relationship with the dynasty of Kānyakubja one might guess that the Brahmins issued from there. However, I am aware of no traditional connection between the Kanaujia and the Konkanasth Brahmins.

continued to live in recess on Mt. Sahyādri in order to protect his native land. There he probably came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of the Supreme God, and from there the belief in his godhead spread—chiefly towards the South but apparently also to Orissa—at a fairly late date.

These short remarks seem to me to contain about what, at the present state of our knowledge, we may feel entitled to enucleate from the traditions concerning Paraśu-Rāma.

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and his commentary on the Meghadūta

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दक्षिणां कालिकां नत्वा भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायिनीम् ।
दक्षिणावर्तनाथस्य विमर्शं कश्चिदारभे ॥
टीकायां मेघदूतस्य दिङ्नागाचार्यमुत्क्षिपन् ।
तत्काले कालिदासस्य सत्तां चैव प्रसाधयन् ॥
प्रमाणमुत वा नेति विचारपदवीं गतः ।
निर्णयः सुलभस्त्वस्य कृते टीकाविचारणे ॥
कल्पनामूलकं तेन व्याख्यानं बहुधा कृतम् ।
इत्येतत्तु यतो दृष्टं श्रद्धानर्हं हि तद्वचः ॥
दिङ्नागनिचुलादीनां या कथा तत्र दृश्यते ।
सापि स्यात्कल्पनामूला सम्प्रदायाप्रमाणिता ॥
विद्यावाचस्पतिः श्रीमान् कुप्पुस्वामी महाबुधः ।
प्रीयतामनया कृत्या प्रार्थयेऽहं प्रयागतः ॥

It is well known to scholars that Mallinātha reads in *Meghadūta* v. 14 a veiled reference to Kālidāsa's rivalry with the famous Buddhist philosopher Diṅnāga. This reference has been rejected by several scholars[1] but others accept it and base on this the date of Kālidāsa.[2] Vallabhadeva, the earliest commentator of the *Meghadūta,* whose work is extant, knows nothing of this allusion. But we now know that Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, a commentator earlier than Mallinātha,[3] has given this explanation in his commentary.[4] Dakṣiṇāvartanātha is thus our earliest source for Kālidāsa's alleged allusion to Diṅnāga and Nicula. A comparison of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's and Mallinātha's comments on this verse shows that the latter is wholly indebted to the former in the matter of this second explanation and has said in a more compact form what the earlier commentator has said with some amount of verbosity.

1. E.g. A. B. Keith in JRAS, 1909, pp. 435-6 and elsewhere. See also my *Date of Kālidāsa,* pp. 164-7.

2. E.g. K. B. Pathak, *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta,* 2nd ed., Introduction, p. xii.

3. Mallinātha names Dakṣiṇāvartanātha in the seventh introductory verse in his *Sañjīvanī* on the *Raghuvaṁśa.*

4. Published from Trivandrum, 1919, p. 13.

The commentary of Mallinātha is known to all students of the *Meghadūta*. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's being not so well known, I quote below his comments on *Meghadūta* v. 14 :

अद्रेरिति । किंस्विदिति वितर्के । अत्रेदमनुसन्धेयं—श्रीपर्वतरामगिर्यादयः सिद्धानां निवासस्थानमिति प्रसिद्धम् । अत एव रामगिरिवर्तिनीनां सिद्धाङ्गनानामौन्मुख्यं संभवति । खेचरत्वात् तस्य । वक्ष्यति—'सिद्धद्वन्द्वैर्जलकणभयाद्वीणिभिर्मुक्तमार्गं' इति । स्थानाद्, अनेनास्थानं च विवक्षितम् । सरसनिचुलाद् आर्द्रवानीरवतः । सरसनिचुलादित्यत्र निचुलपदेन निचुलाभिधानः कश्चन कविर्विवक्षितः । यस्य सूक्तिः सुभाषिते श्रूयते—

"संसर्गजा दोषगुणा भवन्तीत्येतन्मृषा येन जलाश्रयोऽपि ।
स्थित्वानुकूलं निचुलश्चलन्तमात्मानमारक्षति सिन्धुवेगात् ॥"

इति । अनया निचुलोपवर्णनया तस्य कवेर्निचुलाभिधानत्वमासीदित्यनुसन्धेयम् । स तु निचुलकविरास्थानगतः कालिदासस्य सूक्तीः संभावयति । तस्मात् सरसपदेन तं कविं स्तौति । खमुत्पत । अनेन स्वकाव्यस्योच्छ्रितस्थानविजृम्भणं च विवक्षितम् । अयमभिप्रायः—किमन्यैरसूयुभिः आस्थानगतो रसिकः स निचुल एव तवोच्छ्रायं करोतीति दुर्जनभीषणभीतं मेघसन्देशाभिधानं स्वप्रबन्धं मेघच्छद्मना समाश्वासयति । तव काव्यं के नाम दूषयन्तीत्यपेक्षां हृदि कृत्वाह—दिङ्नागानां दिग्गजानाम् । अनेन दिङ्नागाचार्यश्च विवक्षितः । पथि अनेन विजृम्भणावकाश उत्पतनमार्गश्च विवक्षितः । परिहरन् वर्जयन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् उत्पतन्तं मेघमालोक्य सजातीयभ्रमेण स्थूलहस्तावताडनानि संभावितानि । अनेन प्रबन्धदूषणसमये स्थूलहस्ताभिनयाश्च विवक्षिताः । अयमभिप्रायः—दिङ्नाग इति कोऽप्याचार्यः कालिदासप्रबन्धानन्यत्रोक्तोऽयमर्थ इति स्थूलहस्ताभिनयैर्दूषयति । तमाचार्यं स्वप्रबन्धस्यापूर्वार्थाभिधायित्वमाश्रित्य मेघोपदेशव्याजेन कविरुपालभत इति ॥

It will be seen that Dakṣiṇāvartanātha is more anxious to explain the veiled reference to Nicula and Diṅnāga than to give the direct meaning of the verse. This and the detailed manner in which he has explained the allusion clearly suggest that he is conscious of his own originality in the matter. That his explanation is not traditional is proved by its absence in the commentaries of Vallabha, Pūrṇasarasvatī and others. The poet Nicula, whom Dakṣiṇāvartanātha alleges to be a friend of Kālidāsa, is not known to us from any anthology or work on *alaṅkāra* The statement that he was the author of the *subhāṣita* quoted by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and called Nicula on account of the occurrence of the word *nicula* in it cannot be accepted without any corroborative evidence. This verse also is not found in any of the anthologies known to me. It appears to be the creation of a late poet, like the verse current in Bengal,

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दोरिति यो बभाषे ।
नूनं न दृष्टः कविनापि तेन दारिद्र्यदोषो गुणराशिनाशी ॥—

based on Kālidāsa's famous

अनन्तरत्नप्रभवस्य यस्य हिमं न सौभाग्यविलोपि जातम् ।
एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ॥

(*Kumārasambhava* I. 3). The poet Nicula seems to have existed only in Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's imagination. Diṅnāga, of course, is well known but one cannot understand what that Buddhist philosopher should have to do with criticising the compositions of the poet Kālidāsa, being so anxious to demolish the material world. That no rival of Kālidāsa is meant by the expression *diṅnāgānām* is proved by the plural number: no one would use the honorific plural for one's rival. And that the alleged Diṅnāga of *Meghadūta* v. 14 could not be the famous Buddhist philosopher of that name is proved by the fact that he was born in Kāñcī and lived and died in Orissa, according to Tārānātha,[5] whereas the Diṅnāga (if any) of the *Meghadūta* has to be placed on the northward path of the cloud, proceeding from Rāmagiri (=Rāmagaṛh Hill in Sirguja state). This difference should give a death blow to the Diṅnāga theory!

A careful study of the rest of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's commentary reveals that he was an uncritical pedant, endowed with a rich imagination and more anxious to show off his learning than to bring out the true meaning of the poet he was commenting on. He is thus an unreliable witness, whose testimony Mallinātha should not have followed. A careful judge always enquires into the general veracity of a witness before he accepts his evidence in any particular. It is, therefore, our duty to see in detail how Dakṣiṇāvartanātha reveals himself in the rest of his work.

In verse 2, the cloud is described by the poet as 'beautiful like an elephant bent down for butting'—वप्रक्रीडापरिणतगजप्रेक्षणीयं ददर्श.

Dakṣṇāvartanātha reads in this expression an auspicious omen:

अनेन विशेषणेन मत्तगजदर्शनात् कार्यसिद्धिर्भवतीति सूचितम् । अत्र महायात्रायां वराहमिहिरः—

"ज्वलितशिखिफलाक्षतेषुभक्षद्विरदमृदङ्गकचामरायुधानि ।
मरतककुरुविन्दपद्मरागस्फटिकमणिप्रमुखाश्च रत्नभेदाः ॥
स्वयमपि रचितान्ययत्नतो वा यदि कथितानि भवन्ति मङ्गलानि॥"इति ॥

5. *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, uebersetst von A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 130-5.

It will be seen that Varāhamihira speaks of these good omens in connexion with a *journey,* whereas the Yakṣa, who sees the cloud in the form of an elephant, has none to make. The significance that Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has read in line *d* is absolutely inappropriate. The point lies not in the appearance of an elephant but in the particular posture. Students of Kālidāsa know that this *vaprakrīḍā,* practised by elephants or bulls, had very much caught his fancy and he has made many references to it in his works.[6] Consequently Dakṣiṇāvartanātha must be definitely wrong in dragging in a significance of good omen in this expression. Mallinātha has not followed him here.

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has similarly read in verse 9 (**मन्दं मन्दं नुदति** etc.,) reference to two good portents, a favourable wind for the cloud and the presence of the cātaka on the left. That a favourable wind was known to Kālidāsa as a good portent will be readily admittted but it is difficult to concede the same for the *note of a cātaka,* which, and not the presence of the bird on the left, is referred to in this verse. The connexion between the cloud and the cātaka according to *kavisamayaprasiddhi* is so obvious that no other significance should be attached to its mention here. The authority cited by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha for this alleged good omen does not support him quite. Varāhamihira speaks of certain birds and animals which are auspicious when seen to the left at the time of making journeys. The cātaka has not been actually specified in the list, though it can be taken as coming under **पुंसंज्ञिता ये च पतत्त्रिणश्च**. But there is no mention there of the note of a bird. The adjective *vāma* for the cātaka in line *b* seems to mean 'pleasing' or 'sweet-sounding' (**वल्गुवादी** is Vallabha's alternative explanation) and not 'seen to the left'.[7] Mallinātha has accepted Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's explanation and added the cranes mentioned in lines *c* and *d* as good omens. Iswarachandra Vidyasagara has shown in course of his criticism of Mallinātha that lines *a* and *b* supply the reason for the statement in *c* and *d*:

आद्यं द्वयं निमित्तं तृतीयं (i.e., reference to the cranes in *c* and *d*). **तत्कार्य्यम्। यतश्चानुकूलः पवनो मन्दं मन्दं वहति यतश्च चातको वामभागवर्त्ती सन्** (I would say 'pleasing') **मधुरं नदति अतस्तर्कयामि बलाका बद्धपङ्क्तयो**

6. See *Meghadūta* (ed. Nandargikar) I.56 and II.52, *Raghuvaṁśa* IV.22, 59, V.44, 72(?), XIII. 47, *Abijñānaśākuntala* (ed. I. Vidyasagara, 1878), Act I, last verse but one (p. 39) (?). Compare also *Kumārasambhava* I.56.

7. As the cātaka is not one of two similar objects on two sides we would not expect the adjective **वामः** in the nominative but the locative form **वामे** (or **वामतः**) in the sense of 'to the left.' With **वामः** = 'pleasing,' the case form is all right.

नयनसुभगं भवन्तं सेविष्यन्ते। भवांश्चेदलकां गन्ता न केवलं ममोपकारो भवतोऽपि वलाकारूपनायिकासम्भोगः सम्पत्स्यते इति भावः । मेघप्रलोभनार्थोऽयं श्लोकः कल्याणमल्लादयोऽपीममेव पक्षमाश्रित्य व्याख्यातवन्तः ।

Consequently the significance read in lines *a* and *b* by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Mallinātha appears to be uncalled for. *Yātrāsiddhi* of the cloud will help the Yakṣa as such and not the cloud. Consequently it cannot be urged to induce the latter. The cloud will require some other inducement : cf. **मा भूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः** in the closing verse.

Again, in v. 15 (**रत्नच्छायाव्यतिकर इव** etc.) he says in connexion with line *b* (**वल्मीकाग्रात् प्रभवति धनुःखण्डमाखण्डलस्य**):

वल्मीकाग्रादिन्द्रधनुषः प्रादुर्भाव उक्तः संहितायां—
" जलमध्येऽनावृष्टिर्भुवि सस्यवधस्तरूत्थिते व्याधिः ।
वल्मीके शस्त्रभयं निशि सचिववधाय धनुरैन्द्रम् ॥"
अनेनार्थेनापि निमित्तं सूचितम् । तथाह महायात्रायां—
" चापमैन्द्रमनुलोममखण्डं प्रोज्ज्वलद्बहलमायतमिष्टम् " इति ।

It is clear that neither of the two quotations from Varāhamihira has anything to do with Kālidāsa's reference : neither is any *śastrabhaya* indicated nor is the rainbow of the type described in the second passage—no *yātrā* as such is also referred to here.

If in verses 2, 9 and 15, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has brought in the science of omens, in v. 20 (**तस्यास्तिक्तैः** etc.) he has dragged in the science of medicine. He reads in the verse a secondary meaning, which details the therapeutical effects on the body of vomiting and drinking of pungent water—

कृतवमनशुद्धिः पुरुषः शेषदोषोपशोषणार्थं तिक्तकषायवासितं लघु जलं पिबति, पश्चाद् बलवतोऽस्य वायुरपि न कुप्यतीति —as if Kālidāsa was out on writing on all sciences ! This explanation is extremely forced and fails to do justice to the *arthāntaranyāsa* in line *d*, **रिक्तः सर्वो भवति हि लघुः पूर्णता गौरवाय**. We have here a case like the Diṅnāga reference in v. 14 and it is unfortunate that here too Mallinātha has followed Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's lead.

In connexion with v. 25 (**नीचैराख्यम्** etc., No. 26 according to Nandargikar), Dakṣiṇāvartanātha says

8. Edition of the *Meghadūta*, Calcutta 1869, p. 109.

विदिशानगरवर्तिन्यः पण्याङ्गनाः सर्वाङ्गसुन्दर्यः सर्वललितकलाविचक्षणाः सर्वपुरुषावर्जनकुशलाश्च भवन्ति । तत्रत्याः पुनर्नागराः पुरुषास्ताभ्योऽप्यतिसुन्दराः सुभगयौवनाः त्रिस्संभोगविदग्धाश्च भवन्ति । तेषां नागराणां सौन्दर्यातिशयेन तान् कामयमानाः पण्याङ्गना मात्रादिभयेन स्वगृहेषु भोक्तुमपारयन्त्यस्तस्मान्नगरान्निर्गत्य प्रत्यासन्नस्य नीचैराख्यस्य गिरेः सङ्केतस्थानभूतेषु शिलागृहेषुं तैर्निर्दयं रतान्यनुभूयानुभूय पुनर्विदिशां गुप्तं प्रविशन्तीत्यैतिह्यमस्ति ।

We have here another manifestation of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's unrestrained imagination. Verse 25 speaks of the *unbridled* youth (**उद्दामानि यौवनानि**) of the citizens as they enjoyed the company of courtezans and not of the latter's free distribution of favours : in fact these women are pointedly called *paṇyastrī*. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has read into Kālidāsa ideas he found in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (which he often quotes) and elsewhere, without pausing to enquire if they suit Kālidāsa's words or not. A very characteristic invention of tradition on a par with the explanation of v. 14 !

If the above instances show Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's misplaced erudition, his reading of and comments on v. 29 (**वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिला** etc., No. 30 according to Nandargikar), show his ignorance. Unaware that there is in Central India a river Sindhu by name, he has altered the reading **ताम्** (i.e., **निर्विन्ध्याम्** of the previous verse) **अतीतस्य सिन्धुः** into **सा त्वतीतस्य सिन्धुः** and has explained **सिन्धु** as meaning 'river' only, taking this verse also to be referring to the Nirvindhyā. Here, too Mallinātha has followed Dakṣiṇāvartanātha (his reading being **ऽसावतीतस्य सिन्धुः**) but all other commentators and a large number of manuscripts have given the correct reading (and the right explanation).[9]

In v. 62 (**हेमाम्भोजप्रसवि** etc., No. 66 according to Nandargikar), the Yakṣa asks the Cloud to enjoy the Himālayas with various sports, sucking the water of the Mānasa Lake, supplying a cloudy veil to Airāvata and shaking the leaves of the Kalpa tree. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha here remarks **इदमत्रानुसन्धेयं, कश्चित् सखा स्वप्रियसखस्य गृहं गत्वा तदीयानि वापीवाहनारामादीनि स्वैरं निर्विशतीत्यर्थो ध्वन्यते इति** । But this is quite irrelevant. Supplying a veil to Airāvata when drinking water is pure sport and no enjoyment of another's (i.e., a friend's) possessions. The shaking of the leaves of the Kalpa trees corresponds to the removal of other's clothes in sport as Kālidāsa himself makes clear (**अंशुकानीव**).

9. See Nandargikar, Notes, p. 32 and Iswarachandra Vidyasagara, p. 116.

We have, therefore, to reject the *dhvani* read here by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha. It is a pity that here too Mallinātha has uncritically followed Dakṣiṇāvartanātha.

The *Uttaramegha* is less discursive than the *Pūrvamegha* and has not, therefore, afforded to Dakṣiṇāvartanātha the same opportunity for display of imagination as in the first half. He has there kept himself more to the words of the poet. But here too he has twice let go his imagination. The second half of verse 18 (**आलोके ते निपतति** etc., No. 24 according to Nandargikar) describes the Yakṣa's wife asking her śārikā sitting in a cage if she remembers her master. She addresses the bird as *girike*, according to Dakṣiṇāvartanātha (*nibhṛte* acc. to Vallabha, *rasike* acc. to Mallinātha and *subhage* acc. to Pūrṇasarasvatī). Dakṣiṇāvartanātha shows the significance of the epithet *girikā* thus :

मार्जारादिसन्निधानात् । पञ्जराभ्यन्तरं प्रविश्य बालमूषिकेव बिभेतीति बालमूषिकानामान्तरेण शारिकाया उपालम्भपूर्वं सम्बोधनम् । 'गिरिका बालमूषिका' इत्यमरः ।

The meaning of *girikā*, if the reading is not concocted by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, seems to be 'mountain maynā' and not 'young mouse.' Mountain maynās have a very sweet note and are very much prized on that account. A śārikā would naturally be kept in a cage. There is no question of entering it for fear of a cat 'like a young mouse.' Even a big mouse or a rat would be as afraid of a cat as a young mouse. And then what has that imaginary fear of a cat to do with the śārika's remembering the master ?

In the last verse (**एतत् कृत्वा प्रियम्** etc.) also Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's imagination has asserted itself. In connexion with the closing *āśīrvāda* **इष्टान् देशान् विचर जलद प्रावृषा संभृतश्रीर्मा भूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः** he says :

अयमत्र समाधिः—कश्चित् पथिको देशान्तराणि गच्छन् कयापि दास्या संभृतार्थो भवतीति । एवं मम वियोगप्रकारेण (?) । तव विद्युता विप्रयोगो मा भूदिति देशान्तरगमनात् पथिकायमानस्य भवतः क्षणमपि मम कान्तयेव विद्युता विप्रयोगो मा भूदित्यभिप्रायः ।

One wonders what the *dāsī* has to do here. *Prāvṛṣ* that beautifies the Cloud is not related to it as a handmaid. And we are certainly not to think of the Yakṣa receiving any such service from a *dāsī*. The reference to the *pathika* is equally inappropriate. The Yakṣa's separation from his beloved is not due to his becoming a 'traveller'. Line c

(इष्टान् देशान् etc.) wishes for the Cloud a further glorious journey in the spirit of the Pūrvamegha and line *d* ((मा भूदेवं etc.) prays in the spirit of the *Uttaramegha* with great pathos that unlike the unhappy Yakṣa, the Cloud should never be parted from its beloved. These two lines give two distinct ideas and they cannot be connected in the manner of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha. We have here senseless scholasticism! Mallinātha had the good sense of not accepting this *samādhi* of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha.

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has made other mistakes but I pass them over. I have confined myself to only such as show an uncritical exercise of imagination or taking liberty with the text.[10] These are enough to show that Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has freely drawn on his imagination while commenting on the *Meghadūta,* and his explanations have often done violence to the thoughts of the poet. It was, therefore, a very unreliable guide whom Mallinātha followed when bringing in an allusion to the Buddhist philosopher, Diṅnāga, in *Meghadūta* 14. Scholars should no longer accept this allusion.

10. There is perhaps another instance in U. 45 (आराध्यैनं शरवणभवम् etc., No. 49 according to Nandargikar). In connexion with the origin of the river Carmaṇvatī, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha cites a legend as from the *Mahābhārata* (भारतीयमुपाख्यानम्) according to which certain divine cows with golden hoofs and horns used to roam among the cattle of Rantideva and told them that their own exalted condition was due to having been slaughtered at sacrifies. This induced Rantideva's cows to approach him for slaughter in the sacrifice. These details are lacking in the editions of the *Mahābhārata,* published so far. The Calcutta and Bombay editions know only of cattle having themselves approached Rantideva for being killed in the sacrifice (VII.67.4=VII.64.4 according to the new edition of Prof. P. P. S. Sastri). But the Southern Recension edited by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri has a long chapter in the Anuśāsana Parva (Vol. XVI, ch. 70) giving the story of Sumitra, surnamed Phenapa, containing the account of Sumitra's cattle meeting transfigured cows in the form of *beautiful women* and approaching Rantideva at their suggestion for being killed (cf. Madhva-vilas Edition, ch. 121). It will be noticed that there are important discrepancies in the two versions. No other text of the *Mahābhārata* published so far contains the exact story given by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha. We cannot decide for want of evidence whether Dakṣiṇāvartanātha drew on his own imagination for expanding the ideas contained in Mbh. VII, 67. 4 or had a text of the *Mahābhārata* before him containing the version narrated in the Southern Recension, but giving the details exactly as he has written.

The Doctrine of Avatāra (Incarnation) in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism

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Of the six Gosvāmins of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, the two brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, who were immediate disciples of Caitanya, as well as their nephew Jīva, give us an interesting exposition of the Avatāra-doctrine of the sect in their learned Sanskrit works, which form the original authoritative sources of its fundamental tenets. Sanātana deals with the subject, in his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta,* in the poetical form of an imaginary narrative, composed in the style of the Purāṇas; but Rūpa sets it forth, in his *Laghu-* or *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta,* in the more systematic manner of a Śāstraic compendium, supported by illustrative passages from various Vaiṣṇava scriptures. Jīva, who elaborates the entire speculation of Caitanyaism in his six learned *Saṃdarbhas,* mainly follows the indications of Sanātana and Rūpa, and attempts to supply a theological justification of the doctrine. All these three Gosvāmins profess to derive their ideas from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata,* which is the chief and almost exclusive scripture of Caitanyaism; but in reality they treat the subject in their own way, even if the theory in its general outline is a further development of older theories.[1]

It is not necessary here to take into account the poetical account of Sanātana referred to above, for its doctrinal implications are stated in a more precise form by Rūpa in his *Saṃkṣepa.* The latter work by its title purports to be a summary of the former, but it is also a largely original treatise, being a convenient epitome of the principal theological dogmas of the school. The most important part of its treatment, how-

1. On the subject of Avatāra in general, see Jacobi's article on Incarnation (Indian) in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* vii, pp. 193f; on the Avatara-doctrine in the *Mahābhārata,* see Grierson in *Ind. Ant.* 1908, p. 273 footnote, and M. Dasgupta in *IHQ,* 1932, pp. 74-77; for later development of the doctrine see Schrader's *Introduction to the Pañcarātra* and Grierson, *JRAS,* 1909, pp. 624-29. Our references to Sanātana's and Rūpa's work are to the respective texts printed in Bengali character by the Radharaman Press, Berhampore, and published at Murshidabad. For Jīva's *Saṃdarbhas* our references are to the text published by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmin, Calcutta 1900, in Devanagiri character.

ever, is concerned with the doctrine of Avatāra in relation to the deity and the devotee. One of the most fundamental doctrines of Caitanyaism is that Kṛṣṇa as the supreme personal god of the cult is not an Avatāra but the divine being himself in his essential character. Rūpa, therefore, begins his work by discussing the essential selfhood or Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa, which forms one of his principal themes, and in this connection he deals with the different manifestations and appearances of the deity.

The Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa is defined and classified in three aspects :

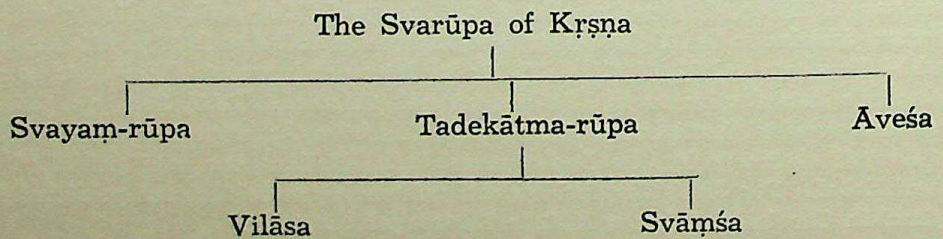
1. Svayaṃ-rūpa, which is not dependent on anything else (*ananyāpekṣi*), i.e., self-existent (*svataḥ-siddha*).

2. Tadekātma-rūpa, or hypostatic manifestation which is identical in essence and existence with the Svayaṃ-rūpa, but seems different by its appearance (*ākṛti*), attribute (*vaibhava*), etc. This manifestation may be either (*a*) Vilāsa, which is of equal power with the Svayaṃrūpa (*prāyeṇātmasamaṃ śaktyā*), e.g., Nārāyaṇa who is a Vilāsa of the highest Vāsudeva (later cult would regard Nityānanda as a Vilāsa in Caitanya-līlā), and (*b*) Svāṃśā, which is inferior in power (*nyūnaśakti*), e.g., Saṅkarṣaṇa or the Matsya.

3. Āveśa, which consists of appearance in the 'possessed' forms of inspired men and prophets, into whom the deity enters through Śakti, Jñāna, Bhakti etc. Śeṣa is cited as an example of Śakti-āveśa, Sanaka of Jñāna-āveśa, and Nārada of Bhakti-āveśa.

The Prakāśa or mere appearance is not considered in the above classification. It occurs when one and the same form appears at the same time as many, which are really identical in essence (*tat-svarūpa*), e.g., Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā appearing at the same time in the rooms of all his 16,000 wives, as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* x, 69, 2. The deity, who is two-handed (*dvi-bhuja*), sometimes appears as four-handed (*catur-bhuja*) : this must be regarded as a mere Prakāśa.

It must be noted that these forms are not Māyika or produced by illusion, but that they are real and eternal (*nitya-rūpa*). The classification mentioned above may be represented thus in a tabular form :



Usually the Svāṃśa and Āveśa forms appear as Avatāras, the Svayaṃ-rūpa appearing only once in the Dvāpara Age as Kṛṣṇa. These appear as if in a new form (*apūrva iva*), either by themselves (*svayam*, e.g., in its self-manifestation as Tadekātma-rūpa) or through some other means (*dvārāntareṇa*, e.g., through a Bhakta like Vasudeva). The commentary explains that the phrase 'as if in a new form' implies that the deity exists at the same time in his essential eternal form. The *raison d'etre* of an Avatāra is *viśva-kārya* or work of the world. The Avatāra is thus a partial descent or appearance in the world of the supreme deity with the object of performing some action in the world, either through or without the medium of a phenomenal being. The term *viśva-kārya* is not explained by Rūpa Gosvāmin, but Baladeva Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa explains it as signifying manifold cosmic action or action done in the world (*viśvarūpaṃ viśvasmin vā yat kāryam*), which consists of (*i*) the process of creation by a disturbance of the equilibrium of Prakṛti, followed by the evolution of Mahat etc. (*prakṛti-kṣobha-mahadādyutpādanam*), (*ii*) increasing the delight of the gods and other beings by suppressing the wicked (*duṣṭa-vimardanena devādīnāṃ sukha-vivardhanam*), and (*iii*) propagating the bliss of divine love among the expectant devotees and spreading pure Bhakti (*samut-kaṇṭhitānāṃ sādhakānāṃ premānanda-vistaraṇam viśuddha-bhakti-pra cāraṇaṃ ca*).

The Avatāras may appear in various forms, and they are classified generally into three groups. The obvious object of this classification is to gather together all the Avatāras who are spoken of in legends or pious texts as having appeared or will appear in the world, and unify them as Vaiṣṇava manifestations of the supreme Kṛṣṇa. These three general groups are:

1. Puruṣa-Avatāras. The first Avatāra is Puruṣa, who, though unconditioned, becomes the conditioned creator. This Puruṣa appears in threefold aspect: (i) as the creator of the Mahat (*mahataḥ sraṣṭṛ*), who is known as Saṅkarṣaṇa the Kāraṇodaka-śāyin, (ii) as existing in the cosmic egg (*aṇḍa-saṃsthita*), who is named Pradyumna the Guṇodaka-śāyin, and (iii) as existing in all beings (*sarva-bhūta-sthita*), who is called Aniruddha the Kṣīroda-śāyin. This is really a modification of the older Vyūha-doctrine of the Nārāyaṇīya, which doctrine however is referred to independently later on (p. 205f.).

2. Guṇāvatāras. These are Avatāras according to the three Guṇas, of which they are the respective presiding deities: viz., Brahmā as creator (Rajas), Viṣṇu as protector (Sattva) and Śiva as destroyer (Tamas).

3. Līlāvatāras. The character of this Avātara is not defined but these forms have been declared by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* i, 3. They

are twenty-four in number as follows: (1) Catuḥsana, i.e., the four 'Sanas', who in four forms are really one, viz., Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra, who appeared as Brāhmaṇa ascetics to propagate Jñāna and Bhakti, (2) Nārada, the author of the Sātvata Tantra, (3) the Varāha, four-legged (catuṣpād), but also two-legged according to some (dvipād), (4) the Matsya, (5) Yajña, (6) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (7) Kapila, (8) Dattātreya, (9) the Hayaśīrṣa, (10) the Haṃsa, (11) Dhruvapriya or Pṛśnigarbha, (12) Ṛṣabha, (13) Pṛthu, (14) the Nṛsiṃha, (15) the Kūrma, (16) Dhanvantari, (17) the Mohinī, (18) the Vāmana, (19) Bhārgava (Paraśurāma), (20) Rāghava, (21) Vyāsa, (22) Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, (23) the Buddha and (24) Kalkin. These are also the Kalpa-Avatāras, as they appear in each Kalpa.

The Manvantara-Avatāras. At each of the fourteen Manvantaras there is an Avatāra who destroys the enemies of Indra and becomes the friend of the gods. They are in their order: (1) Yajña, (2) Vibhu, (3) Satyasena, (4) Hari, (5) Vaikuṇṭha, (6) Ajita, (7) Vāmana, (8) Sārvabhauma, (9) Ṛṣabha, (10) Viṣvaksena, (11) Dharmasetu, (12) Sudhāman, (13) Jogeśvara and (14) Bṛhadbhānu. Of these, Hari, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita and Vāmana are the chief (Pravara).

The Yugāvatāras. A Yugāvatāra flourishes at each of the four Yugas. They are according to their individual names (*nāma*) and colour (*varṇa*): in Satya-yuga, Śukla (white), in Tretā, Rakta (red), in Dvāpara, Śyāma (dark) and in Kali, Kṛṣṇa (black).

In each Kalpa these Avatāras become fourfold in accordance with the condition of Āveśa, Prabhava, Vaibhava and Paratva, which are now explained. The word Āveśa literally means 'entering into' or 'possession.' The Āveśa-Avatāra has already been mentioned; but this kind of Avatāra (of which examples are the sages Sanaka, Sanandana, etc., Nārada and Pṛthu) is merely *aupacārika*, i.e., they are not real Avatāras but Avatāras by analogy; because here the Lord enters into a particular Jīva and thus exalts him into an Avatāra. Even Kalkin (or Kalki) is supposed by some theologians (e.g. in *Viṣṇudharma*) as belonging to this order. The two terms Prabhava and Vaibhava practically mean the same thing, viz., power, but probably differ in the degree of the significance. This class of Avatāras is identical in essence with the supreme deity (*svarūpa-rūpa*) and are so called according to the degree of their Śakti or power (*śaktīnāṃ tāratamyena*) but they are inferior to the Para or Parāvastha Avatāra (*parāvasthebhya ūnakaḥ*). The Prabhava-Avatāras may again be classified according as (i) their appearance does not endure for a long period of time (*nāticira-vyakta*), or (ii) their not having an extended reputation (*nāti-*

viśruta-kīrti). The examples of the first kind are the Mohinī, the Haṃsa and Śukla, who disappeared as soon as their work was finished; the examples of the second variety include Śāstrakāra ascetics as Dhanvantari, Ṛṣabha, Vyāsa and Kapila. The Vaibhava Avatāras are the Kūrma, the Matsya, Nārāyaṇa with Nara, the Varāha, the Hayaśīrṣa, Pṛśnigarbha, Balarāma, and the fourteen Manvantara-Avatāras beginning with Yajña.

Each of these Āveśa, Prabhava and Vaibhava Avatāras has a place of habitation of his own in a particular Loka. Thus the Kūrma lives in a lake in Mahātala, the Matsya in a lake in Rasātala, Nara and Nārāyaṇa in Badarī, the two-legged Varāha in Maharloka, the four-legged Varāha in Pātāla, the Hayaśīrṣa in Talātala, Pṛśnigarbha above the Janaloka of Brahmā, Balarāma in the same place as occupied by Kṛṣṇa (although his partial manifestation or Aṃśa named Saṅkarṣaṇa lives in Pātāla), Vaikuṇṭha in Svargaloka (but also in Vaikuṇṭha-loka which he himself discovered), Ajita in Dhruvaloka, Trivikrama (who is distinguished from the Vāmana) in Tapoloka and the Vāmana in Bhuvarloka. But all the Avatāras live in a lower region than Paravyoma or Mahāvaikuṇṭha, the highest paradise of the supreme being. This is given in accordance with the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The Bengal school, however, does not seem to possess any definite cosmology of its own, but follows the *Bhāgavata, Padma* and other Purāṇas indiscriminately.

In this connection the author briefly discusses the alleged Avatāratva of Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, and Nārāyaṇa, the twin-brother of Nara. This allegation, however, is not, in his opinion, acknowledged by learned people.

The Parāvastha is described in the Śāstras as the Para or complete state (*saṃpūrṇāvastha*), for these Avatāras possess all the six Aiśvaryas and are comparable to a lamp lighted from the original lamp (*dīpād utpanna-dīpavat*). They are the Nṛsiṃha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

With regard to the Nṛsiṃha the author cites the authority of the *Bhāgavata, Padma-purāṇa* and Śrīdhara (who is known to have been a worshipper of the Nṛsiṃha Avatāra). The Avatāra is described in full in the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpanī Upaniṣad*. The Nṛsiṃha lives in Janaloka; but also in Viṣṇuloka. Rāma lives in Ayodhyā and in Mahāvaikuṇṭha. Some (e.g. *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*) are of opinion that the four Vyūhas (Vāsudeva, etc.), were incarnated in Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, etc.; but according to the *Padma-puraṇa*, the process of incarnation was as follows: Rāma =Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa=Śeṣa, Bharata=the disc Sudarśana of Nārāyaṇa and Śatrughna = the Pāñcajanya conch-shell of the deity.

Kṛṣṇa, according to the Purāṇas, lives in four places, viz. Vraja, Mathurā, Dvārakā and Goloka.

In this connection the author discusses the question whether Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha can be regarded as Parāvastha-Avatāras of equal grade with Kṛṣṇa. A Viṣṇupurāṇa text is quoted, which equalises Rāvaṇa, Hiraṇyakaśipu and Śiśupāla, who were hostile respectively to Rāma, the Nṛsiṃha and Kṛṣṇa, and informs us that the first two of these did not attain Sāyujya emancipation because they lacked true Bhakti for the deity. But other texts are cited to show that that Kṛṣṇa is the deity himself (*bhagavān svayam*) and not an Avatāra. Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha have, no doubt, equal character or Svabhāva with Kṛṣṇa, but they do not possess the distinctive qualification of bringing emancipation to the enemy that is slain (*hatāri-gati-dāyaka*) ; for while Śiśupāla was finally emancipated, Rāvaṇa and Hiraṇyakaśipu had to suffer rebirth. Although all these Avatāras are perfect (*pūrṇa*) there is yet a difference in excellence according as all the Śaktis or Energies of the Lord find expression in them or not. An Aṃśa is that Avatāra in which the all-powerful expresses only a part of his infinite power, while a Pūrṇa-Avatāra occurs where all the powers are fully manifested. Although the Śakti is the same in the case of a lamp and a heap of fire for burning down a house, there is yet a difference in their respective virtue of bringing delight by the removal of cold, etc.

A modification of the much older Vyūha-doctrine is next mentioned by our author (pp. 205 f). The four Vyūhas in their order of emergence are given as :

Saṅkarṣaṇa presiding over Ahaṃkāra,
Vāsudeva presiding over Citta,
Pradyumna presiding over Buddhi,
Aniruddha presiding over Manas.

The author refers to the fact in the Nārāyaṇīya,[2] that Pradyumna is presented as presiding over Manas, and Aniruddha over Ahaṃkāra, but the above view, in his opinion, is supported by all Pañcarātra scriptures. The four arms of Hari are said to represent the four Vyūhas. In some

2. On the older Vyūha-doctrine in the *Mahābhārata,* see Barnett, Introduction to his English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā,* pp. 52-55 ; Miss Mrinal Dasgupta in *IHQ,* 1932, pp. 68f. For later development of the dogma, see Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra,* pp. 35f.

Sātvata Tantra, we are told, there is an enumeration of nine Vyūhas,[3] viz., Nārāyaṇa, the Nṛsiṃha, Hayagrīva, the Mahāvarāha and Brahmā, in addition to the four mentioned above; but the four appear to be the original and generally accepted Vyūhas. The Vyūha-doctrine is accepted by our author from these older sources, but its exact bearing upon the theology of his own school is not clearly explained. It appears, however, that the school does not accept fully the older position that each of these Vyūhas is a cosmic spiritual evolute or creative emergence in successive order, parallel to the order of cosmic material evolutes of Ahaṃkāra, etc.; but it would regard each of the Vyūhas (Vāsudeva, etc.) as independent creative manifestation of the primal Paramātman-Puruṣa Avatāra of the supreme being, each having (as already explained) a distinctive character and habitation of his own, like every other kind of Avatāra. Nor can each of these, in the opinion of the Bengal school, be regarded as corresponding to the series of cosmic material causation like Ahaṃkāra, Manas and Buddhi, which are, in its theory, the result of the extraneous Māyā-Śakti (and not of the essential and inherent Svarūpa-Śakti) of the Bhagavat, and which are therefore non-conscious (*jaḍa*) evolutes. In other words, these Vyūha manifestations are aspects of the Puruṣa-Avatāra of the Bhagavat, who do not correspond but apparently have presiding functions over the creative evolutes of Ahaṃkāra, Manas etc.

The author next attempts to remove the erroneous view sometimes propounded that Kṛṣṇa is Vāsudeva, the first of the four Vyūhas. He maintains that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the deity himself, who is greater than Vāsudeva; for Vāsudeva is merely an aspect of the Puruṣa-Avatāra for creative purposes. Every other form or manifestation is Aṃśa-kalā, but Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Bhagavat himself. This position is supported by a series of Purāṇa texts, which establish that, inasmuch as there is an excess of qualities, especially of the quality of Mādhurya, Kṛṣṇa is superior in turns to Brahman, Puruṣa, Nārāyaṇa, and consequently to all other deities, Vyūhas and Avatāras. In this connection the *Gopāla-tāpanī* is cited as one of the greatest authorities. It is noteworthy that the Bengal school admits the reality practically of all deities mentioned in the Śāstras, as well as of all Vyūhas, Avatāras and other forms of manifestations testified to by the Purāṇas; but it denies their alleged superiority to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is *par excellence* the only supreme deity; the other deities are there, but they are inferior to Kṛṣṇa and even derive their existence from him. Jīva Gosvāmin, for instance,

3. Also referred to in Jīva's *Śrikṛṣṇa-saṃdarba*: *Sāttvatāṃ bhāgavatānāṃ Vāsudeva- Saṅkarṣaṇa-Pradyumnāniruddha-Nārāyaṇa-Hayagrīva-Varāha-Nṛsiṃha-Brahmāṇa iti yā nava mūrtayaḥ.*

states in his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* that Brahmā is the first Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa but Śiva, being described in the scriptures as an ideal Vaiṣṇava, is greater than Brahmā, while Lakṣmī, who is the foremost embodiment of the teaching of Bhakti, is greater than Śiva, and is therefore admitted into the highest companionship (*parama-sakhya*).

The question as to how the Unborn can be born is answered by the mystical dogma of incomprehensible power (*vaibhava*) and by metaphor that although the fire remains hidden in the fuel, it comes into existence by friction. The cause of divine manifestation is found in the theory of grace or Prasāda, which the deity vouchsafes to his faithful devotee as an aspect of his inherent divine Śakti, with whom the deity is eternally engaged in a motiveless sport (Līlā) of bliss (*hlādinī*).

Then the author proceeds to discuss this Līlā or divine sport of Kṛṣṇa, which is a display of his inherent divine Energy or Śakti in the form of divine self-realisation. This topic is further elaborated in the *Śrikṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin in its philosophical aspect; but here the dogma is barely stated and supported by authoritative texts. The Līlā as an aspect of divine Śakti or Energy is real and eternal (*nitya*), whether it is manifest (*prakaṭa*) or unmanifest (*aprakaṭa*). Hence also are Kṛṣṇa's forms (*mūrtis*) and Avatāras real and eternal. His Prakaṭa Avatāra-līlā, i.e., his manifest descent and sport, in its real and eternal character, is the result of his grace or Anugraha to the world, and he shows himself in the way in which his faithful devotee wishes to see him. As the Līlā is *nitya*, his true Bhakta even to-day sees Kṛṣṇa sporting in Vṛndāvana. His qualities or Guṇas are not *prākṛta* or phenomenal, because he is beyond the sphere of the three *prākṛta* Guṇas of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. It is for this reason that he is sometimes called Nirguṇa or attributeless. In reality he is Saguṇa, not in the phenomenal sense, but in the sense that his attributes are real, non-natural or supersensuous (*aprākṛta*), being an essence of his inherent self (*svarūpabhūta*). Hence his form (*Rūpa*) and name (*Nāma*), his greatness (*Aiśvarya*) and his associates (Pārṣadas), etc. have through his display of Līlā a supersensuous reality, although in his essence he is formless (*a-rūpa*), nameless (*a-nāma*) etc.

That the Kṛṣṇa-līlā is real and eternal is laid down in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures. The Līlā, which is a display of the divine Śakti, is of two kinds, viz. Prakaṭa or manifest, and Aprakaṭa or unmanifest; the one is cognisable in the external world (*prapañca-gocara*), the other is not. In the Prakaṭa-līlā Kṛṣṇa seems to go to and fro from Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā, but in the Aprakaṭa-līlā he stays eternally in Vṛndāvana, which he never forsakes as his eternal habitation. Here he sports with one Gopi (*gopyaiykayā*)

and appears as Dvibhuja, although elsewhere he is sometimes Caturbhuja. At Vṛndāvana he is Kṛṣṇa but at Mathurā he becomes Vāsudeva, while at Dvārakā he manifests his Pradyumna and Aniruddha forms,—which theory is a curious mystical attempt to reconcile the old Vyūha theory with the new Kṛṣṇa legend. His birth as the son of Devakī appears in his Prakaṭa-līlā, but in his Aprakaṭa-līlā he is the eternal son of Yaśodā. In the Prakaṭa-līlā there is an apparent separation from Vṛndāvana, but during all this time he is in his Aprakaṭa-līlā really in union there with his beloved ones. This union is of two kinds, viz. Āvirbhāva and A-gati. The Āvirbhāva occurs when he appears to his dear ones who long for him during separation; e.g. at the time of Uddhava's message, Kṛṣṇa appeared in Vṛndāvana, although he lived apparently in Dvārakā. When to prove the genuineness of his promise and to show his love to his dear ones he comes in his chariot to Vṛndāvana, it is called A-gati; e.g. the advent as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* x, 39, 33 f. Thus by means of his manifest and unmanifest Līlā he remains at the same time in the three places, Vṛndāvana, Mathurā, and Dvārakā. His habitation is in reality twofold, viz., Vṛndāvana and Dvārakā, the former again being twofold, viz. Vṛndāvana and Mathurā. The Goloka or the highest paradise of the deity is really a Vaibhava, or display of Śakti, of Vṛndāvana itself. In all these places his Līlā is *nitya*, but Vṛndāvana is the best because here he lives eternally in all his glory and sweetness. This sweetness or Mādhurya consists of his power (*aiśvarya*), his sport (*krīḍā*), his flute (*veṇu*) and his personal appearance (*mūrti*), all of which exist in fullness in Vṛndāvana.

Following these general indications of Sanātana and Rūpa, Jīva Gosvāmin deals with the doctrine of Avatāra in his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*. The main theme of this Saṃdarbha is to maintain the central position of Caitanyaism, viz. that Kṛṣṇa, who is the highest personal god of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, is not an Avatāra or incarnate being but he is the deity himself in his perfect form as the Bhagavat. It was, therefore, found necessary to discuss in this connexion the character of the Avatāra in relation to the essential self-hood of the deity.

Caitanyaism believes[4] in three stadiums or gradations of one and indivisible Reality, which are designated respectively as the Brahma, the Paramātman and the Bhagavat. The distinction is one of degree only, and is possible because different Sādhakas possess different capa-

4. For a general outline of the philosophy and theology of Caitanyaism, see the introduction to my edition of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (Dacca University, 1934), pp. *liv-cvi*, and *Indian Culture* 1935-36.

cities and modes of realisation. The Brahma, as the philosophical absolute, represents nothing but the *nirviśeṣa* state of the Bhagavat and is conceived as the unconditioned, impersonal anad undifferentiated thought-substance, corresponding to the Brahma of the Advaita-vādins, but the Bhagavat, as the religious concrete, constitutes the complete manifestation of the godhead as the perfect person in the fullest display of the distinctive divine potencies, features and attributes. The Brahma is unqualified but the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of attributes. The Bhagavat represents the conception of the highest personal god, endowed with the essential Svarūpa-śakti, of this theistic school of Vaiṣṇavism; he is the Lord in full manifestation (*pūrṇa-āvirbhāva*), the Brahma, in whom the Śaktis remain in a potential and undifferentiated state, is his incomplete or imperfect manifestation (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*), the latter realisable by Jñāna but the former accessible only to Bhakti. The Paramātman represents, as it were, an intermediate conception. As a partial manifestation of the Bhagavat, who alone possesses the highest inherent Svarūpa-śakti, the concept has relation mainly to the extraneous Jiva-Śakti and Māyā-Śakti, and is therefore presupposed for this special purpose. The Paramātman is thus the godhead viewed in relation to spirit (Jīva) and nature (Prakṛti), and is endowed with the powers of creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world. The Paramātman is also regarded to be the source (*āśraya*) and the germinal ground (*udgama-sthāna*) of the various Avatāras, as well as of the whole phenomenal creation. As Kṛṣṇa, in the opinion of this school, is the Bhagavat himself, the Avatāras proceeding from the Paramātman stand relatively on a lower level, and never possess the perfection of the highest deity.

From the Paramātman spring the two Puruṣas, the Primal and the Secondary, who become the source of the series of incarnate divine forms, just in the same way the sun is the source or ground of its own rays. In other words, the incarnations are related to the Paramātman-Puruṣa as parts to the whole, and in their unmanifest state they lie in an indiscrete and germinal form in him. In this connection, there is a discussion in detail of the twenty verses from the *Bhāgavata* (i. 3, 6-25), which give a general list of the authentic appearances, partial (Amśa) or complete (Aṃśin), of the supreme deity. The Avatāras have already been considered by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* and have been summarised by us above; but there is some discrepancy in the order of enumeration, Jīva Gosvāmin following strictly the order of the *Bhāgavata*. They are

1. Catuḥsana. 2. The Varāha. 3. Nārada, to whom is attributed the Pañcarātra Āgama. 4. Nara and Nārāyaṇa. 5. Kapila. 6. Dattātreya. 7. Yajña. 8. Ṛṣabha. 9. Pṛthu. 10. The Matsya. 11. The Kūrma. 12. Dhan-

vantari. 13. The Mohinī. 14. The Narasiṃha. 15. The Vāmana. 16. Paraśurāma. 17. Vyāsa. 18. Rāma. 19-20 Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. 21. The Buddha. 22. Kalki.

The last verse i, 3, 26 adds that the Avatāras are numberless, like the ripples on an inexhaustible reservoir; and this statement, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, is meant to include such Manvantara-Avatāras, not included in the above list, as Hayagrīva, Hari, the Haṃsa, Pṛṣṇigarbha, Vibhu, Satyasena, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita, Sārvabhauma, Viṣvaksena, Dharmasetu, Sudhāman, Yogeśvara and Bṛhadbhānu, as well as Yuga-Avatāras like Śukla, Rakta, etc.

All these appearances, with the exception of Nos. 19 and 20, viz. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, are Aṃśas or Kalās (partial manifestations) of the Puruṣa (*ete cāṃśa-kalāḥ puṃsaḥ*); but among the Aṃśa-Avatāras a further distinction is made of Āveśa-Avatāras. The Catuḥsanas etc. are instances of the Āveśa or 'possession' of the Jñāna-Śakti, Nārada, etc. of the Bhakti-śakti, and Pṛthu etc. of the Kriyā-śakti of the supreme deity. In some cases there is a direct possession by the deity (Svayam-Āveśa), and these Avatāras have therefore often declared themselves as 'I am the Bhagavat' in the scriptures. In the Avatāras like the Matsya, there is direct partial manifestation (*sākṣād aṃśatvam*). By the term Aṃśatva it is meant to indicate that though these appearances partake directly of the divine selfhood (*sākṣād bhagavattā*), the selfhood is said to be manifested partially, because of the invariably partial manifestation in them of the divine Śaktis, in accordance with the invariable divine will in the particular case (*avyabhicāri-tādṛśa-tadicchāvaśāt sarvadaikadeśatayābhivyakta-śaktyādikatvam*). But as the part (Aṃśa) can never be the whole (Aṃśin), the Avatāra can never be the deity himself in his perfection. The so-called Vibhūti-Avatāras, who consist of the great Ṛṣis, the Manus, the Devas, the sons of the Manus and Prajāpati, are included the term Kalā, which also means a part, but which indicates the manifestation of a small amount of divine energy (*alpa-śakti*), as distinguished from the great energy (*mahāsakti*) displayed in the Āveśa-Avatāras. The difference between the Āveśa and Kalā-Avatāras is thus one of degree only, illustrated by the analogy of the iron which receives different degrees of the quality of fire by contact, but which in its real nature remains as the iron. These are really cases of Jīva who are inspired specifically in various degrees by divine energy; but the Aṃśa-Avatāras like the Matsya are direct, if incomplete, manifestations of the divine self.

Having thus enumerated the various limbs or constituent parts (*aṅga*) of the Paramātman, the *Bhāgavata* verses cited above conclude

by a half-verse which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, distinctly lays down the general character of the Avatāras, and emphatically distinguishes and determines Kṛṣṇa as the supreme Bhagavat himself.

The verse (i, 3, 28) concludes the list of Avatāras with the statement:

> *"These are the Aṃśas and Kalās of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself."*

As this ascertion stands at the end of the list of Avatāra, it implies, according to Jīva Gosvāmin, that the appearances mentioned in the list are the various Aṃśa or Kalā-Avatāras of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma), who is enumerated as the twentieth in the list, is the Bhagavat himself, who is not an Avatāra, but the Avatārin or the very source of the Avatāras themselves as the substratum of the Paramātman-Puruṣa. This position is elaborately maintained in the rest of the Saṃdarbha, partly by an explication of this and other texts of the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures, and partly by reconciling those texts from Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava sources which are inconsistent or contradictory. But since the question is not relevant to our discussion, it need not be considered here.

From what has been indicated above, we can now summarise the theory of Avatāra propounded by the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism thus:

(*i*) The supreme being, though one, can manifest himself in various forms, all forms being real, perfect, eternal and intelligential, but there are degrees of excellence in the character of the manifestation.

(*ii*) The Avatāra is real and not illusory, and he is also supernatural (*divya*) and eternally existent (*nitya*).

(*iii*) The form or body assumed is non-natural and incorruptible (*aprākṛta*) and has nothing of the grossness of earthly forms (*apārthiva*). It is an intelligential essence (*jñānātma*), but it consists of a Vigraha, or concrete form, of pure existence, bliss and intelligence (*sacchidānanda-vigraha*) like the form of the deity himself. The Avatāra thus retains absolute knowledge, absolute existence and absolute bliss, as well as omnipotence and power to grant salvation (*mokṣadatva-svabhāva*).

(*iv*) The Avatāra assumes human nature in two ways, viz. the apparent shape and form of man (*manuṣya-sanniveśatva*) and the ordinary human acts (*manuṣya-ceṣṭā*).

(*v*) The humanity is real, but it is human reality without its imperfections. Hence Jīva Gosvāmin speaks of Aprasiddha-mānuṣatva and Aprākṛtatva of the Avatāra.

(*vi*) As the Avatāra retains divine power and perfection, he is capable of performing superhuman (*atimartya*) acts.

(*vii*) Although some of the Avatāras appeared in past ages, yet being eternal they are still worthy of worship. Each Avatāra has not only a distinctive form or body, but also a place or habitation in a particular Loka, which is also real and eternal.

(*viii*) The Avatāra is a partial descent or manifestation in the sense that the deity exists at the same time in his essential and complete form. The obvious object of descent is to do good to the world ; but since the supreme being, who realises himself in his motiveless sport (Līlā), cannot be regarded as having a particular motive, the descent occurs as an aspect of his grace, which is a display of his inherent Śakti, to his faithful devotee.

It is clear that this theological dogma rests ultimately on a curious combination not only of mythology and philosophy but also of the natural and the supernatural, of the real and mystical,—a trait which characterises the whole religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

The Meter of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka

By

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The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (which I abbreviate SP.), like most northern Buddhist texts, is composed in what I call "hybrid Sanskrit" (it has also been called "mixed Sanskrit"). On this language see my article in the special issue of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, in honour of Sir George Grierson (Vol. VIII.). It is based on a lost Prakrit, the protocanonical language of the Buddhists, which was partially Sanskritized. Many of its features are directly inherited from that protocanonical Prakrit. One such feature is the metrical structure of its verses, which differs in some ways from all Sanskrit versification. This meter deserves special study, all the more since it was seriously misunderstood by the editors of SP., with results which vitiate their text at many points. The metrical principles involved reappear in large part in other Buddhistic (hybrid) Sanskrit texts; but I shall limit myself here to this one text.[1]

All the verses of SP. belong to one of two metrical types, anuṣṭubh, and triṣṭubh-jagatī. Of the latter, the verses xi, 42-48 differ in structure from the rest. They occur in what the editors (p. 256, note 5) rightly call a "clumsy interpolation"; they are certainly not parts of the original text, and so may be ignored for the present.

Otherwise, all the triṣṭubh-jagatī verses of SP. consist of four pādas, of each of which the basic type is this: $\cup - \cup - - \cup \cup - \cup - \begin{cases} \times \\ \cup \times \end{cases}$

The first syllable may be either long or short. The tenth syllable may be followed by either a single syllable (triṣṭubh) or two syllables, the first of which is short (jagatī). These varieties may be mingled at random in the same stanza. Otherwise, the type corresponds closely to the classical upajāti meters, in their two principal forms: the one, in-

1. My references are to page and lines of the Kera-Nanjic edition, *Bibiliotheca Buddhica*, 10, 1912. The new "romanized and revised" text now appearing in Tokyo, ed. Wogihara and Tsuchida, 1934, of which I have seen the first two parts, corrects some of the errors of the first edition but leaves most of them untouched, and by no means supersedes the other. I refer to it occasionally as "WT."

dravajrā and upendravajrā (triṣṭubh), and the other, indravaṅśa and vaṅśasthā or vaṅśasthavila (jagatī). The two subvarieties of each type are distinguished by the quantity of the first syllable, but the same stanza is allowed to contain both subvarieties of either triṣṭubh or jagatī, as in SP.; not, however, both triṣṭubh and jagatī pādas. This is the only difference so far noted between SP. and classical Sanskrit meters. Since, however, the Mahābhārata and other early texts, like SP., permit mixture of triṣṭubh and jagatī in the same stanza, this difference alone would not be very important.

A much more important difference appears when we consider the so-called hypermetric lines. Rather often we find pādas of triṣṭubh cadence but containing twelve syllables, or of jagatī cadence with thirteen. No one seems to have noted, however, that the extra syllable is never added at random, but that certain definite principles govern it. Namely: for the first syllable, which may be long, and for the fourth or fifth, which must be long, two short syllables may be substituted. Note that this substitution of two shorts for a long occurs only in the case of these three syllables, all in the first part of the line. It is very common in the first syllable; uncommon but well attested in the fourth and fifth; but never, I believe, occurs elsewhere. I have counted the occurrences in Chapter iii, which contains 143 triṣṭubh-jagatī stanzas, or 572 pādas. Of these, 67 pādas show two shorts substituted for the first syllable, 10 for the fourth, and 4 for the fifth. I believe that these figures are approximately typical for the whole work.

This treatment of two shorts as equivalent to a long is unlike anything known to Sanskrit metrics of any period (unless we except the āryā group of meters, where a similar principle prevails, but is quite differently applied; incidentally, most scholars are agreed that the āryā was originally a Prakrit meter). A vague tendency in the same direction was detected by Hopkins (*Great Epic*, 301) in a few triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas of the Mahābhārata; but they may possibly be capable of different interpretation, and in any case the tendency never crystallized into a definite law as in SP. Other sorts of "hypermetric" pādas are familiar in the epic, but never occur in SP.

Another important peculiarity of SP. metrics is the extensive use of arbitrary lengthening and shortening of syllables, especially of vowels, for the sake of the meter. While this is not entirely unknown in the older periods of Sanskrit, nowhere do we find it on anything like the scale found in SP., which any Sanskrit poet would be ashamed to own for this reason alone. The author of this work felt not the slightest compunction about lengthening or shortening any vowel to make it fit the rigid metrical scheme. To be sure it is generally final vowels (including

those at the end of parts of a compound) which suffer; but internal vowels are not exempt; e.g. *adhyeṣami* for °*āmi* (1 sing.) 38·2, or *anābhibhūḥ* for *ana*° 128·4. This license was clearly taken over from the metrics of the Prakrit dialect on which the language was based. In my article mentioned above, I show that this dialect was closely related to Ardhamāgadhī on the one hand, and to Apabhraṅśa on the other. Now the verses of both these Prakrits, and especially Apabhraṅśa, are characterized by the freest possible use of metrical lengthening and shortening, especially in end syllables but also elsewhere (Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, § § 73, 100).

The lengthening and shortening of syllables may be accomplished in other ways than by merely substituting a short vowel for a long, or vice versa; and these other ways, too, are characteristically Prakritic. Thus, for a diphthong, *e* or *o*, short *i* and *u* are very often substituted, as frequently in Prakrit. So the pronoun *me* becomes *mi* in a short syllable; and the locative sing. of *a*-tems ends in *i*, for Sanskrit *e*. (Rarely, *e* may be retained but shortened; so *te* 85.12, which WT. emend to *ti* for the sake of the meter; but there is no reason to doubt that in this dialect, as generally in Prakrit, *e* could be short as well as long, and I should keep *te* with all the mss., but read it as short.)

Again, by the middle-Indic "law of morae" (see Geiger, *Pali*, § 5 f), a short vowel plus a double consonant and a short nasalized vowel may be treated as interchangeable with a long vowel. In accordance with this principle of Prakrit phonology, we often find that SP. makes a syllable long, not by lengthening a final vowel, but by doubling the following initial consonant, or by adding anusvāra (which is sometimes assimilated, appearing as the nasal of the same series as the following initial consonant). So, for *daśasu* (or *daśa*) *diśāsu*, we find metrically substituted not only *daśasū diśāsū* 53.11, but also *daśasu-ddiśāsu* 55.11 and *daśa-ddiśāsu* 32.14; perhaps also *daśan-diśāsu* 194.9 (so probably to be read with the Kashgar recension; ed.*daśa-ddiśāsu*). Also *sādhuṁ* (for *sādhu*) *ti ghoṣaṁ* 55.12, and many similar cases. Conversely, final anusvāra is very often dropped to make the syllable short. Or, if the next word begins with a vowel, what in Sanskrit would be final *m* after a short vowel is so written here if a short syllable is required, but invariably and automatically written as anusvāra if a long is required. In the latter case, the syllable thus arbitrarily made closed even though the next word begins with a vowel, counts as long: e.g. *'haṁ iha* 61·7 (—∪ ∪) for *aham iha*, and countless other examples.

This brings us to the matter of external sandhi between vowels, which is handled in the freest possible way, as in Prakrit poetry gene-

rally. Indeed it seems even to exceed the usual limits of Prakrit poetry. All possible varieties occur, from absolute hiatus, with or without insertion of an inorganic consonant (hiatus-bridger, "Hiatustilger"), and with or without metrical shortening or lengthening of one of the vowels, to complete fusion, sometimes with lengthened vowel instead of dipthong, or total elision of one of the two vowels; and this elision may affect even an entire syllable of an ending (thus the gen.pl.-*ām* may be, first, reduced to -*a* with the loss of -*m* and metrical shortening of the vowel, and then this -*a* may be lost altogether before a word beginning in a vowel, as in *prakāṣayantān' iha sūtram etat* 229·9, for *prakāśayantānām*, which stands for Skt. *prakāśayatām*). One is moved to exclaim that anyone could write verse, if allowed such liberties!

Particularly interesting is the insertion of inorganic consonants (usually *m* or *r*, but also apparently *h*, cf. such Pali forms as *su-h-uju*, Geiger, *Pali*, § 67) to bridge the hiatus between vowels, as in middle Indic generally. The editors have often misunderstood these cases; and indeed the mss. are sometimes not unanimous, showing that the copyists, too, were troubled by them. Examples: *yatha-r-iva* 14·9; *na jātu-r-asmābhir* 306·13; *digvidiśāsu-h-aṁce* III·4 (for *añcet*); *dvihastamātrā-m-anusaṁkramanti*, so read with Kashgar mss., 84·8 (*dvihastamātrā*, nom. pl. masc.; ed. with Nepalese mss. ° *mātśāś canu* °, a lectio facilior); *saṁtāpitā agnina-m-alpapuṇyāḥ*, so read with Kashgar mss., 85·11 ("burnt by fire, having little merit"; ed. with Nep. mss. *agnina Maṁdapuṇyāḥ*, again a lect. fac.); *svaka-atra putrān*, so read with all mss., 86·5 (acc. p., "his own sons here"; ed. emends to *svake atra*, and WT. to *svaka atra*); *ihaiva-m-āgataḥ* 115·8 (kept in ed., this time; here the Kashgar mss. omit the *m*). Even between parts of a compound word the inorganic consonant may be inserted: *dūre vayaṁ uttama-m-agrabodhiyā* (Nepalese mss. ° *bodhaye*) 203.9 "we are far from supreme enlightenment" (correct Sanskrit would require *uttamāgrabodheḥ* or °*dhyāḥ*).

There remains another fact of the utmost importance for a correct understanding of the SP. meter; this concerns not metrical license, but the actual pronunciation of the words of the text, in the ordinary language. Namely: the spoken language was clearly much more Prakritic than the writing, at least as we find it recorded, as a rule, in the mss.; whether it was first written Prakritically, in accordance with the pronunciation, and afterwards "corrected" by later redactors so as to approach standard Sanskrit, I cannot say. But this much is certain, that the words of our text, even when written as if Sanskrit, were pronounced in some important respects as the corresponding Prakrit forms would be.

So, first and foremost, initial consonant combinations, which in Prakrit would be simplified to single consonants, are here *always* pronounced as single consonants (cf. Kern's Preface, xi, which greatly understates the facts). They do not make a long syllable if the preceding word ends in a short vowel. Hence, if a long syllable is required by the meter, the preceding final vowel may be arbitrarily lengthened, just as when followed by a single initial consonant (above). This was not understood by the editors of either edition. So in 27·15, all the mss. read *vineṣyatī* or °*te* before *prāṇa—;* both editions emend to *vineṣyati,* not realizing that °*tī* is a necessary metrical lengthening (since the syllable must be long) instead of °*ti;* for the following word was pronounced *pāṇa*—as in Prakrit. Extremely rare are cases where the mss. keep a short vowel, in a metrically long syllable, before what is written as an initial consonant-group; such cases are indeed no commoner than before a single initial consonant, and in all such cases special explanations (or emendations) must be sought. Medial consonant combinations, on the other hand, always make the syllable long, as they would in Prakrit. (At the beginning of the second member of a compound, when the first member ends in a short vowel, there is some variation of treatment, again exactly as in Prakrit; but usually, as there, the treatment is the same as in absolutely initial position). Another confirmation of this observation is the fact that when such an initial consonant-group is preceded by a final long vowel, if the meter requires a *short* syllable, that vowel is shortened; e.g. *viditvā traṇam* 90.3 (⏑ — ⏑ — —). The *ā* of *viditvā* is never shortened except for metrical reasons; but here, if *tr-* were pronounced, we should still have a long syllable; obviously, then, the word was pronounced *tāṇaṁ.* There are many similar cases.

Again, consider the pāda in 162·6, written *vayaṁ ca lokaś ca anugṛhītaḥ.* The eighth syllable must be long: according to the writing of all the mss., the meter is therefore faulty. Kern and Nanjio ignore the defect: the Tokyo editors emend to *anū°.* But all the mss. read *anu°.* It seems to me evident that the word was pronounced with double *-gg-,* as in Pali (*anuggahita*) and Prakrit (*aṇuggahia, °hīa*). Clearly the *ī* was long, as in the second Prakrit form (and in Skt.): whether *ṛ* or Prakritic *a* was pronounced it is impossible to say (in 291·11 all mss. write *gahastha* =Pali *gahaṭṭha,* Skt. *gṛhastha,* but such cases are rare in the traditional text: who can say how far they represent the usual pronunciation of the author?) Similarly 89·8 *parigṛhītāḥ* (⏑—⏑— —), all mss.: again the Tokyo edition emends to *parī°,* but we should understand *parigg°.*

It is evident from these observations that SP. tolerates no deviation whatever from its rigid metrical scheme. In this it resembles the *vṛtta*

meters of classical Sanskrit. But, quite unlike the Sanskrit poets, the writers of Buddhistic hybrid Sanskrit allow themselves manifold liberties with the language in order to attain this metrical result. In this they conform to the tradition of the Prakrit dialect from which they started. And, incidentally, they retained, at least in pronunciation if not in writing, many features of Prakrit pronunciation which in our mss. have been Sanskritized.

The anuṣṭubh verses are much less numerous than the triṣṭubh-jagatī in SP: they total 281 stanzas or 1124 pādas in all. The regular scheme is:

Odd pādas: × × × × ∪ — — ×
Even Pādas: × × × × ∪ — ∪ ×

The even pādas keep to this scheme with astounding regularity. In the cadence, there is not a single departure. In the first part we find, very rarely, five syllables instead of four, but chiefly in verses which are pretty certainly later additions to the text (402·5-11, variations of two formulae, and 462·4); otherwise only once, 176·10. The quantity of the first four syllables varies at random.

The occurrences of these last three are: (b) 138·4, 14; 236·9; 254·5 — — — ×, which appears 35 times according to the printed text (but in some cases the mss. show variants of regular type, and in others slight emendations would produce regularity). Much rarer are the following alternative schemes:

10 times (one repetition)	(b) × × × × ∪ ∪ ∪ ×,
8 times	(c) × × × × — ∪ ∪ ×,
6 times.	(d) × × × × — ∪ — ×,

The occurrences of these last three are: (b) 138·4, 14; 236·9; 254·5 = 9; 255·1; 279·1, 12 (? Kashgar mss. regular); 301·4; 343·3; (c) 34·11; 138·10; 141·11; 223·1; 236·3; 237·7; 255·3; 303·3.)
(d) 138·11; 140·4, 7, 13; 141·1; 306·10.

Once (303·10) the printed text shows × × × × ∪ ∪ — ×, but we should surely read *parīvāro* (as in 304·5, 8) for *pari°*, thus giving the regular scheme.

Not uncommonly (about 18 times) we find five syllables, instead of four, in first part of the odd pādas, where the quantity is absolutely indifferent. In the cadence, there are a very few cases in which two shorts are substituted for a long, as we found allowed in the first part of the triṣṭubh-jagatī. This occurs three times in the sixth syllable the fifth being invariably long, the scheme being (a), above: 236·7,

272·8, 301·7; and once or twice in the seventh syllable, the scheme being the normal one: 172·2 *yathābalaṁ yathāviṣayaṁ*, and perhaps 236·8, reading with several mss... *ca me layanaṁ*. Evidently the possibility of substituting two shorts for a long applied generally to the meters of the language (though, as we have seen, in the triṣṭubh-jagatī I have found no case in the latter part of the pāda). I may add that it applies also in other Buddhist works in "hybrid Sanskrit", notably in the much more elaborate meters of the Lalitavistara, many of which are quite identical with the longer sama-vṛtta meters of classical Sanskrit, but for this occasional substitution of two shorts for a long.

All the other peculiarities of the language, as specified in the triṣṭubh-jagatī stanzas of SP., are equally applicable to its anuṣṭubh stanzas.

I must add that I find no evidence for Kern's statement (Preface, xi) that "regularly there is a secondary pause after the fourth or fifth foot [understand 'syllable', sc of the triṣṭubh-jagatī], just as in Vaidic prosody." I do not think a break comes at this point any oftener in SP. than in the triṣṭubh-jagatī meters of classical Sanskrit.

Date of Subhūticandra's commentary on the Amarakośa—Between A.D. 1062 and 1172

By

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We are thankful to Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the University of Madras for having acquainted us with the rich historical contents of the fragment of a manuscript of Subhūticandra's commentary on the *Amarakośa*,[1] which has been acquired by the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras and is numbered R-2933 (1-35-44). The varied references numbering about 129 made by Subhūticandra to several ancient works and authors in his commentary as recorded by Dr. Chintamani amply reveal the literary strata of the period of Sanskrit literature when the present commentary was written, as also those of a period much earlier than Subhūticandra's date. Many of the works referred to by Subhūticandra are still unknown or known only by their titles.

As Dr. Chintamani has not said anything about the date of this commentary in his article under reference, I propose in this note to fix its chronological limits on the basis of the data available at present.

Aufrecht[2] has the following remarks in his Catalogue of Manuscripts about Subhūticandra :—

> "सुभूतिचन्द्र—or abridged सुभूति a commentator on अमरकोश quoted in माधवीयधातुवृत्ति, by उज्ज्वलदत्त, Rāyamukuṭā, in धातुरत्नाकर, by Bhānuji. Oxf. 183-a"

We know that Bhānuji's father Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita flourished about 1630 A.D.[3] and Rāyamukuṭa wrote in 1431 A.D. Ujjvaladattta is assigned to circa 1250.[4]

Dr. Chintamani in his article refers only to Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji Dīkṣita and to the translation of Subhūticandra's commentary

1. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, Part IV, (October-December 1934, pp. 372-380).
2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 728a.
3. Belvalkar: *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 47.
4. Ibid, p. 54.

preserved in Tibetan. According to him A.D. 1431 would be one of the limits to Subhūticandra's date, while, as we have noted above, Aufrecht's list of references pushes this limit back to about A.D. 1250, the date of Ujjvaladatta.

Looking to the numerous references made by Subhūti in his commentary we find that he refers to Bhojarāja (No. 18 of Chintamani's list) as also to his two works, viz., *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (No. 102) and Śṛngāraprakāśa (No. 104). Bhojarāja flourished between A.D. 1010 and A.D. 1055[5] and died after A.D. 1062.[6] It would thus appear that Subhūti wrote his commentary between A.D. 1062 and 1250.

The above limits, viz., A.D. 1062 and 1250 can still be narrowed down on the strength of a further reference pointed out by the learned editor of the Kalpadrukośa[7] in the following remarks :—

"Another old commentator (on the *Amarakośa*) often quoted by Bengal commentators is Subhūti or Subhūticandra, a Buddhist, whose commentary called *Kāmadhenu* exists in a Tibetan version (Ind. Wört. p. 21). Subhūti is mentioned in *Durghaṭavṛtti of Śaraṇadeva* (1173)."

The *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva, who is a Buddhist himself records its own date of composition, viz., A.D. 1172 and the only reference to Subhūti[8] in the same appears as under :—

"संज्ञापूर्वविधेरनित्यत्वाद् वृद्धयभाव इति सुभूतिः"

The above reference makes it clear that Subhūti wrote between A.D. 1062 and 1172.

Further data which might enable us to narrow down even these limits may also be discussed. In his article under reference Dr. Chintamani remarks about 'Vopālita' referred to by Subhūti in his commentary : "Vopālita is older than 1100 A.D." Though this conclusion by itself does not enable us to say that Subhūti wrote after 1100 A.D. it may suggest in combination with Subhūti's references to Bhojarāja and his works that the commentary may have been composed after 1100 A.D. Then again the lexicon *Viśvaprakāśa* of Maheśvara composed in A.D. 1111 which is quoted by another commentator of Amara, viz.,

5. S. K. De : *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 147.
6. *Pathak Comm. Volume* (B.O.R.I.), Poona 1934, p. 376 where Keith's view is cited.
7. *Kalpadru Kośa*, Vol. II (Gaikwar Ori. Series), 1928, Introd. p. 32.
8. *Durghaṭavṛtti* (Trivandrum Sans. Series) p. 82.

Sarvānanda in his commentary composed in A.D. 1159 is not found in the list of 129 references made by Subhūti to earlier authors and works as noted by Dr. Chintamani. This omission, if justified in the light of a further analysis of the whole of Subhūti's commentary (Madras MS. being only a fragment) may indicate that Subhūti wrote before A.D. 1111 (date of *Viśvaprakāśa*) or that he being a contemporary of the author of *Viśvaprakāśa* did not regard the latter's work as worth quoting in case he had access to it. At any rate the omission of such a popular work as the *Viśvaprakāśa* Kośa, which held its sway over all commentators beginning with Sarvānanda (A.D. 1159), has its own significance pertinent to Subhūti's date.

The commentator, Sarvānanda, mentions in verse 3 of his beginning of the *Amarakośaṭīkā* that he used 10 previous commentaries on Amara. Sarvānanda, himself a Buddhist, may have known the commentary of Subhūticandra though he nowhere mentions either his name or the name of the commentary. If Subhūticandra could be mentioned by Śaraṇadeva in A.D. 1172 it is possible that his commentary must have been used by Sarvānanda in A.D. 1159. Out of the 129 references of Subhūti about half the number is found in Sarvānanda's commentary on the Amara-kośa. The references common to both the commentaries are the following :—

कात्य, नारद, पालकाप्य, भरत, भागुरि, शाश्वत, आगम, नाममाला, रामायण (Sarvānanda has **बालरामायण**) **भारत, कामन्दक**(Subhūti mentions **कामन्दकीय**), **कालिदास, गोवर्धन, चन्द्रगोमी, जयादित्य, तारपाल, दण्डि** (Subhūti mentions **दण्ड्यलंकार, दण्डियमक**), **धनंजय, न्यासकार, भट्टि, भारवि, माघ, माधव**, (Subhūti mentions Mādhava's **पर्यायरत्नमाला**), **मुरारि, रक्षित, रामदास, रुद्र, वररुचि, वल्लभ, वामन, विभाकरवर्मा, विशाखदत्त** (Subhūti has **विशाखदेव**), **वोपालित, व्याडि, शालिहोत्र, हलायुध, उणादिवृत्ति, कण्फिणाभ्युदय** Subhūti has **कप्पणाभ्युदय, कातन्त्रटीका** Subhūti has **कातन्त्रविशेष** and **कातन्त्रव्याकरण, कादम्बरी, कीचकवध, कुमारसंभव, गोवर्द्धनीय उणादिवृत्ति, जातकमाला त्रिकाण्डशेष, दण्डियमक, दुर्घट**(Subhūti has **पुरुषोत्तम-दुर्घट**), **धरणि, धातुपारायण,** (Subhūti mentions **पाणिनीय धातुपारायण**), **धातुप्रदीप** (Subhūti mentions **धातुप्रदीपटीका**), **रघुवंश** (Subhūti mentions **रत्नकोश**) **रभसकोश** (Subhūti mentions **रभस**), **लिङ्गानुशासन** (Subhūti mentions **वामनलिङ्गानुशासन**), **वर्णदेशना, वायुपुराण, वासवदत्ता, विदग्धमुखमण्डन, वृत्ति,** (Subhūti has **वृत्तिकृत्**) **शब्दार्णव, शाकटायनसूत्र, शृङ्गारप्रकाश, हर्षचरित.** It is still possible to show that many more references from Sarvānanda's commentary could be found in the commentary of Subhūti because Dr. Chintamani's list of references is based only on a partial survey of

the commentary, the Madras MS. containing commentary extending from almost the beginning to the end of the 1st Varga in the 2nd Kāṇḍa only as reported by Dr. Chintamani. The foregoing references though common to Sarvānanda and Subhūti are not, however, sufficient to establish the exact obligations of the former to the latter in the composition of his commentary. Another commentator on the *Amarakośa* who is definitely indebted both to Sarvānanda and Subhūti is Liṅgābhaṭṭa. Mr. Sheshagiri Sastri[9] refers to him as " the latest of the commentators " on the lexicon of Amara. He has made full use of Sarvānanda's Amaraṭīkā and refers to him as the ' दशटीकासर्वस्वकार '. Mr. Sheshagiri Sastri gives a big schedule of references to earlier works and authors found in Liṅgābhaṭṭa's commentary. From this list I find that Subhūticandra has been mentioned by Liṅgābhaṭṭa not less than 43 times. This number of citations shows clearly the influence of Subhūticandra on subsequent commentators of Amara and it would really be a great gain if the whole of his commentary is recovered. Even the fragment that is now recovered should be published and made available for a closer study by Sanskritists.

From Dr. Chintamani's list of references we come to know that Subhūti refers in his commentary to Dhanañjaya (No. 29) and possibly to his *Nāmamālā* (No. 71). There has been raging a controversy about his date.[10] According to Dr. K. B. Pathak Dhanañjaya flourished about A.D. 1123. This date has apparently been accepted and echoed by Winternitz and Keith in their Histories of Literature. If it is correct we shall have to fix A.D. 1123 and A.D. 1172 as the limits for Subhūticandra's date. This date has, however, been challenged by Vīra Rāghavāchārya, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah and other scholars, who are more in favour of an early date for Dhanañjaya in view of Bhoja's reference to his poem *Dvisandhāna* which would put the date of the poem between A.D. 960 and 1000. We cannot, therefore, rely upon this date in the present stage of the controversy raging round it. From the list of references common to Subhūti and Sarvānanda given above we know that Sarvānanda refers to Dhanañjaya as also to his *Nāmamālā* in A.D. 1159, a fact which is useless for our purpose because we find Vardhamāna quoting from *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* of Dhanañjaya in A.D. 1140. Prof. Macdonell opines[11] that Dhanañjaya's *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* quoted by Vardhamāna is an imitation of Kavirāja's work. According to Mr. Vīra Rāghavācharya, Kavirāja was a contemporary of

9. *Madras Mss. Report* (1893-94). Published in 1899, p. 40.
10. *Pathak Comm. Volume* (Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, 1934) pp. 375-376.
11. Vīra Rāghavāchārya in *Pathak Comm. Vol.* (B.O.R.I., 1934-5) p. 376.

Muñja, Bhoja's uncle (A.D. 975—95) and that the Telugu poet Pālkuriki Somana (1190—1260 A.D.) refers to Kavirāja in his *Paṇḍitārādhya-carita*. These facts so far as they go are in favour of an early date for Dhanañjaya as given by Mr. Vīra Rāghavācharya, viz., A.D. 960—1000 which contradicts Dr. Pathak's date for Dhanañjaya, viz., A.D. 1123. For the present we may regard A.D. 1062 and 1172 as the limits for Subhūticandra's date as pointed out above or in general we may say that he flourished *in the first quarter of the 12th century.*[12]

12. Since this article was written, my note in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVI (1935) pp. 313-4 on "*Rare Mss. of Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakośa*" has been published. We have in all four Mss. of Subhūti's *Amarakośaṭīkā*, viz. one in the Madras Library, one in the D. A. V. College Lal-chand Library and two in Tibetan monasteries. Of the two MSS available in Tibet one is dated *Samvat* 313 of the Nepali Era = A.D. 1191. This date of the copy harmonizes with Śaraṇadeva's reference to Subhūti in A.D. 1172. (See also List of *Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet* published by Rāhula Sāmkṛtyāyana in *J. Bih. and Ori. Res. Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 21-43.

A forgotton event of Shah Jehan's Reign

By

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The history of Moghul period is based almost on Muslim records only, which are religiously silent about the activity of the Hindus in this period. Of course, what is to the discredit of the Hindus is certainly recorded by the contemporary chroniclers. But the life of the Hindu subjects and their literary and religious activities are nowhere mentioned. Unfortunately no Hindu records exist ; either the Hindus did not keep them or they have been destroyed by the fanatic Muslims.

We can, however, get much valuable information of the period from works composed during these times and some anthologies which have preserved the names of many writers. The attention of scholars is drawn to these unexplored records without which the picture of these times will remain incomplete.

In this paper it is proposed to lay down an important incident of Shah Jehan's reign which is nowhere recorded. The reign of Shah Jehan, extending over 30 years (1628—1658), has been characterised as marking " the climax of Moghul dynasty and empire." (Smith : India in the Muhammadan Period, 1923, p.419). This remark is true not only with regard to the extension of political power of Shah Jehan, but also with regard to the advancement of art and literature. Although Hindu art and literature did not enjoy the same amenities in his reign as they did in those of Akbar and Jehangir, and although Shah Jehan not only put a stop to the erection of new temples in 1632 but ordered their destruction, yet the literary activity of the Hindus was not at a stand still. In Sanskrit, not to mention other writers, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha and Appaya Dīkṣita, and in Hindi, Behārī Lāl may be mentioned.

It is recorded in the chronicles of this period that Shah Jehan took severe action against his Hindu subjects in the year 1632. " Jehangir had raised no objection to the erection of new temples, which is opposed to strict Muhammadan law. Shah Jehan now resolved to put a stop to the practice, and gave orders that—' at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad that

seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.' No record of destruction in other parts of the empire has been preserved, but it must have been considerable." (Smith : India in the Muhammadan Period, p. 396) .

But nowhere do we find any record that Shah Jehan had imposed pilgrim-tax on the pilgrims to Benares and Allahabad. In the historical texts it is mentioned that after its abolition by Akbar, this tax was re-imposed by Aurangzeb. It may be argued that why this fact which is detrimental to Hindus is not recorded by Muslim chroniclers. The answer to it is that at the intercession of the great Sannyāsī scholar Ācārya Kavīndra Sarasvatī Vidyānidhi this tax was remitted. So, if it were only re-imposition of pilgrim-tax it would have been recorded, but as it was its remission, who would record an event which shows weakness on the part of the emperor to accede to the request of the Hindus.

Ācārya Kavīndra or Kavīndra (which is only a title) was originally an inhabitant of some town on the banks of the river Godāvarī. He had studied the Āśvalāyana śākhā of the Ṛgveda and had mastered other branches of learning also. In his very childhood he lost his interest in the world and having taken Sannyāsa made Benares his abode. The Sannyāsī must have met Shah Jehan when the persecution of Hindus was at its highest and the tax was re-imposed on pilgrims to Allahabad and Benares. The Sannyāsī seems to have exercised wonderful influence on the emperor in order to make him abolish the tax. The joy of Hindu India knew no bounds and congratulations poured from all quarters. Addresses after addresses, verses and prose eulogies were presented to the Sannyāsin, the Defender of the Faith. Titles of Kavīndra, Vidyānidhāna and Ācārya were conferred upon him. These addresses in prose and verse along with the names of their authors who were scholars of repute or holy men have been preserved for us by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Upādhyāya in an anthology (padyāvalī) called the Kavīndracandrodaya. It is, however, difficult to say whether the people who contributed were the inhabitants of Allahabad or Benares or had assembled at one of these places on the occasion of some bathing festival. A few quotations are given here :—

" यवनकरग्रहणाब्धौ मग्ना येनोद्धृता पृथिवी ॥"
" चक्रेण मोचयांचक्रे नक्राच्छक्रानुजो गजम् ।
प्रयागेभं करग्राहात् करग्राहात् कवीन्द्रवित् ॥" श्रीस्वामिनः ॥
" येन श्रीसाहिजाहानरपतितिलकः स्वस्य वश्यः कृतोऽभूत्
किं चावश्यं प्रपन्नः पुनरपि विहितः साहिदाराशकोहः ।

काशीतीर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकहेतुः
सोऽयं श्रीमान् कवीन्द्रो जयति कविगुरुस्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥" हीरारामकवेः

Although it is not expressly stated here that it was the poll tax, yet as it was one on the places of pilgrimage, viz., Allahabad and Benares, (See Tarkasaṅgraha of Ānandajñāna, edited by T. M. Tripathi, introduction pp. xxiv-xxv ; Gaekwar Oriental Series, No. III), it cannot but refer to poll tax on pilgrims.

The importance of this Anthology lies in this fact also that it has preserved for us the names of many contemporary writers. It helps in fixing the dates of many and at the same time throws light on the vigorous literary activity of the Hindu scholars in the various fields of Sanskrit literature.

A Ms. of this Anthology has been noticed by the late R. L. Mitra in Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. II, No. 815. Another Ms. (which is a very recent copy and not very accurate) exists in the library of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, No. 1165 (Dr. Bhau Daji's collection). I had an opportunity of examining the B.B.R.A.S. Ms. Following is the description as given by R. L. Mitra (N. B.—I am indebted for this description to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Library, who very kindly and promptly obliged me with the extract).

No. 815. *Kavīndracandrodaya* : Substance, country paper, 11½ by 4 inches ; folios 31. Lines 10 on each page. Extent 900 slokas. Character, Nāgara. Date S.1734. Place of deposit, Calcutta, Government of India. Appearance, old. Prose and verse. Incorrect. Author, Vidyānidhi Kavīndra. Subject : A miscellany in prose and verse, containing notices of nearly a hundred different poets of the middle ages.

It begins :

पुण्डरीकाक्षचण्डांशुचण्डीं चण्डीश्वरं तथा ।
वेतण्डतुण्डमानम्य निबन्धोऽयं निबध्यते ॥ १ ॥
तमस्तमःसङ्घविघातकारी समस्तविद्वत्परितापहारी ।
कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदयनामधारी प्रबन्ध एषोऽस्तु जगत्प्रचारी ॥ २ ॥
विद्यानुकृतफणीन्द्रो विजितमतीन्द्रो यतीन्द्रो यः ।
स्ववशीकृतपृथिवीन्द्रो जयति कवीन्द्रो यतिर्जगति ॥ ३ ॥
गोदातीरनिवासी पश्चाद्येनाश्रिता काशी ।
ऋग्वेदीयाभ्यस्ता साङ्गा शाखाश्वलायनी शस्ता ॥ ४ ॥

निःस्पृहता विषयेभ्यः परनिजजन [निः?] ताभिमानेभ्यः ।
प्राप्ता शैशवसमये विश्वेशानुग्रहाद्धृदये ॥ ५ ॥
लघुवयसा गततमसा...ला [सत्त्वा?] धिक्यादभिद्रवद्रजसा ।
य[ये]न च विध्या तरसा तपसा सर्वा पशीकृतैव रमा[सा?] ॥ ६ ॥
बुद्ध्वा विबुधाधिकृतां दत्ता यस्मै कवीन्द्रसत्पदवी ।
यवनकरग्रहणाब्धौ मग्ना येनोद्धृता पृथिवी ॥ ७ ॥
विजितमहीतल तस्मै (?) दत्तं विद्यानिधानपदमस्मै ।
आचार्याह्वयसहितं यतिबुधवृन्दैर्महीतले महितम् ॥ ८ ॥
इति कवी [वि] चंद्रवर्णनम् ।

श्रीमत्काशिविकाशिभिः सुकविभिस्तद्वत् प्रयागासिभिः
नानादेशनिवासिभिश्च रचिता विद्याग[गु]णोल्लासिभिः ।
श्रीकृष्णेन सरस्वतीपदयुताचार्योपनामाश्रित-
श्रीविद्यानिधि सत्कवीन्द्रविषया पद्यावली लिख्यते ॥ १ ॥
तत्रादौ कवीन्द्राष्टकम् ॥

Ends :—

प्रयागतः [गागतः?] स्नानपुण्याम्बुपूरैः समुत्पाद्य सत्कीर्तिवल्लीमतल्लीः ।
पवित्रोरुगोत्रा [त्रः?]सुरत्राणकारी सहाकीन्द्रसंसत्कवि[वी]न्दो (?) विभाति॥
....सद्रसालङ्कृतिरुल्लसन्ती वसत्प्रमदारलीलयैव(?) ।
वाणी कवीन्द्रस्य मुनेः कवीन्द्रशिरोमणेरेति शिरोमणित्वम् ॥ ९ ॥
दैत्या वोपचितोचितश्रीसुखाय यो दक्षिणसन्मुखस्थः(?) ।
इनांनिके(?)प्युत्कटकामकान्तिर्जीव्यात्कवीन्द्रः कविरद्भुतोऽयम् ॥ १० ॥
एते रघुनाथभट्टगुर्जरस्य ।

Colophon :— श्रीसर्वविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीकवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदयपुस्तकम् ॥

It will be evident from the description given above that Mitra is wrong to attribute the authorship of the work to Vidyānidhi Kavīndra. The author or the compiler, who is also a contributer to the Anthology, is Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The assertion that about a hundred poets have been noticed is also wrong. My examination of the B.B.R.A.S. Ms. has revealed 61 names including that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Upādhāya. Mitra seems to have counted all the signatures without carefully examining the fact that many of the names have been repeated. Out of these 61 names

I give below a tentative identification of about 20 and the names of the rest.

1. *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Upādhyāya.* The compiler of the Anthology. Nothing further known.

2. *Mahārāja Miśra.* Mitra reads *Hemarāja Miśra.*

3. *Jayarāma Bhaṭṭācārya.* = Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya, pupil of Rāmabhadra or Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭācārya, guru of Janārdana Vyāsa. (C.C. I, 201a). He is the author of Kāvyaprakāśa-ṭīkā named Tilaka or Jayarāmī. (De : Sanskrit Poetics, I, 176-7). He also wrote the Nyāyasiddhāntamālā, the Padārthamaṇimālā and commentaries on Nyāyakusumāñjali and Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti. Dr. De places him later than the 16th and earlier than the 18th century A.D. So, he can now safely be placed near about 1632.

4. *Mādhavabhaṭṭa.*

5. *Rāmadeva Bhaṭṭācārya* son of Viśvanātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya. The latter wrote a commentary on the Nyāya-sūtras of Gautama in 1634 and is the famous author of the Bhāṣāpariccheda, Siddhāntamuktāvalī, etc. (C.C.I, 584b ; Winternitz : Gesch. d. Ind. Litt. III, 475).

6. *Kūrmācala Vīreśvara Paṇḍita.*

7. *Raghunandana Dviveda* = Raghunandana Dīkṣita, father of Kṣemānanda. See No. 9 below.

8. *Raghunātha Dīkṣita.*

9. *Kṣemānanda Bājapeya.* Son of Raghunandana Dīkṣita (See No. 7 above) and the author of Nyāyaratnākara and Sāṁkhya-tattva-vivecana, a comm. on Tattvasamāsa, published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, No. 246 (Sāṁkhya-saṅgrahaḥ) (C.C.I., 135). The editor of Sāṁkhyasaṅgraha, P. Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dvivedī, reads his name as Ṣimānanda and remarks :— अत्र क्षेमेन्द्रेणेत्यनुमीयते । 'षिमानन्द' इति तु मातापित्रोरुल्लापने नामेति सर्वजनप्रसिद्धार्थं तथैव लिखितमिति संभाव्यते

The first verse of the Sāṁkhya-tattva-vivecana is :—

रघुनन्दनसुतेनेदमिष्टिकापुरवासिना ।
कान्यकुब्जद्विजाग्र्येण षिमानन्देन तन्यते ॥

Bājapeya is one of the titles of Kānyakubja brahmins.

10. *Bhaiyyābhaṭṭa* or *Bhayyābhaṭṭa* is also quoted in the Sūktisundara, an anthology by Sundadaradeva (Ms. No. 1237 in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., B.B.R.A.S.). He is the son of Bhaṭṭāraka Bhaṭṭa and the author of Dharmaratna (C.C.I, 416). The Ms. No. 1254 (Baroda

O. I.) is Āhnika-dīdhiti from Dharmaratna (Kane :—Hist. Dharm. Lit. I, 719a).

11. *Keśava Miśra.* Probably he is identical with the author of Alaṅkāraśekhara and lived under Māṇikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra, grandson of Rāmacandra. Māṇikyacandra came to the throne of Koṭ-Kāṅgra in 1563 A.D. "The literary activity of Keśava may, therefore be fixed in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century A.D." (De. Sanskrit Poetics, I, 261 ; C.C.I., II, 28). I think his time should be fixed in the last quarter of the 16th and the early part of the 17th century A.D. It is just possible that he was an old man when he wrote his eulogy about Kavīndra.

12. *Siddheśvara Bhaṭṭa Mīmāṁsaka,* son of Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa and the author of Saṁskāra-bhāskara or Saṁskāra-mayūkha and Saṁskārāmṛta. About 1630—1670 A.D. (Kane : Hist. Dharm. Lit. I, 756, C.C.I, 723b).

13. *Cakrapāṇi Paṇḍita,* probably identical with Śeṣa Cakrapāṇi, pupil of Vīreśvara or Viśveśvara and author of Kāraka-tattva (Gr.). (C.C. III, 38a).

14. *Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa Dharmādhikārin,* author of Vyavasthā-saṅkṣepa (C.C. III, 31).

15. *Nāgeśa* son of Somarāja Paṇḍita. I am tempted to identify him with the author of Śrāddhendu-śekhara (C.C. II, 207a). We come across only one Somarāja in Aufrecht's C.C. (different from Somarāja-deva) who is the son of Nṛhari or Narhar and the author of Darśa-pūrṇamāseṣṭi and Rudrasūktabhāṣya (C.C. II, 235a, and III, 151b).

16. *Parameśvarācārya.*

17. *Rāmakṛṣṇa Nāgara* is almost probably identical with Rāmakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita Nānhābhāi, son of Dāmodara, who copied Tristhalīsetu at Benares in 1616. He is the author of several works quoted in C.C. I, 509a.

18. *Viśvaṁbhara Maithilopādhyāya.*

19. *Jagadīśa Jānīka.*

20. *Rāmeśvara Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya.*

21. *Jayakṛṣṇa Upādhyāya.*

22. *Gaurīpati Miśra* is most probably identical with Gaurīpati, son of Dāmodara, who wrote at Benares in 1640 a comm. on the Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta (C.C.I, 172a ; Kane ; Hist. Dharm. Lit., 696a).

23. *Nīlakaṇṭha Ācārya* = Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha ? (C.C.I, 301b ; Kane : Hist. Dharm. Lit. 438ff.)

24. *Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa Kāla.*

25. *Viśvanātha Jyotirvid* = Viśvanātha Daivajña, the fifth son of Divākara Daivajña, wrote between 1612—1632. He is the author of legion of works (C.C.I, 584a).

26. *Dharmeśvara Agnihotrin.*

27. *Dāmodara Upādhyāya Maithila.*

28. *Vrajabhūṣaṇa Kavi.*

29. *Śrī Svāmin.*

30. *Kṛṣṇacandra Bhaṭṭa.*

31. *Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin.* Son of Kāśīrāma of the Mahārañga family; wrote Guṇamañjarī on Prāyaścittaviveka. (Kane: Hist. Dharm. Lit. I, 714b; C.C.II, 183b).

32. *Aniruddha Miśra.*

33. *Bālakṛṣṇa Jyotirvid* = Bālakṛṣṇa of Jambūsaras, son of Yādava, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, son of Nārāyaṇa, son of Rāmjit and author of Jātaka-kaustubha, Jaiminisūtrabhāṣya (jy), Tājika-kaustubha, Yoginī-daśa-krama and several stotras. (C.C.I, 370b).

34. *Pūrṇānanda Brahmacārin.*

35. *Muralīdhara,* grandson of Kālidāsa Miśra.

36. *Kṛṣṇācārya.*

37. *Mahādeva Paṭṭavardhana.*

38. *Badarīnātha Upādhyāya Maithila.*

39. *Hīrārāma Kavi.*

40. *Mauni Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa.* Same as Gāgābhaṭṭa? (Kane: Hist. Dharm. Lit. I, 742.)

41. *Śrī Mahīpati Upādhyāya.*

42. *Śivadatta Miśra,* son of Caturbhuja, author of Śivakoṣa, written in 1677 and Saṁjñāsamuccaya (med.). (C.C.I, 649a).

43. *Kaviśekhara.* Also quoted in the Padyāvalī. Dr. De remarks: "This is an honorific title which is found adopted by several poets, e.g., Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati of Mithilā and by the Vaidya author of a Haravilāsa Kāvya (Eggeling, India Office Catalogue, vii, p. 1450), who describes himself as the son of Yaśaścandra." (The Padyāvalī of Rūpa Gosvāmin, edited by S. K. De, Dacca University, 1934).

44. *Bhūdhara Pāṭhaka,* same as the father of Prabhākara who wrote Gītarāghava in 1617 (C.C. I, 414-b).

45. *Raghunātha Upādhyāya* probably the son of Bhānuji of Śāṇḍilya Gotra and author of Prayogatattva composed at Benares in 1656 A.D. (Kane: Hist. Dharm. Lit. I, 726-a).

46. *Lakṣmaṇa Mahāpātra.*

47. *Śrīsvāmiśiṣya.*

48. *Tilabhāṇḍeśvara.*

49. *Brahmendra Sarasvatī,* pupil of Devendra and the author of Vedānta-paribhāṣā, (C.C.I, 389-a) and Advaitāṃrta (C.C. II, 88-a).

50. *Nārāyaṇa Caturveda.*

51. *Bhānabhaṭṭa or Bhānubhaṭṭa,* son of Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, son of Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa. (1620—1680). Author of Ekavastrasnāna-vidhi, Dvaitanirṇaya-siddhāntasaṅgraha and Homa-nirṇaya. (C.C. I, 405-a ; Kane : Hist. Dharm. Lit., 708-a).

52. *Tailaṅga Vaikuṇṭha Bhaṭṭa.*

53. *Gaṅgārāma Miśra.*

54. *Jagannātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya.*

55. *Vīreśvara Bhaṭṭa,* most probably identical with the author of Anyoktiśataka (Kāvyamāla, 5th Gucchaka) where he calls himself the son of Hari of Mudgala gotra. The last verse of his work is—"

" योऽभूद् द्राविडचक्रवर्तिमुकुटालंकारभूतस्य रे
मौद्गल्यस्य हरेः सुतः क्षितितले वीरेश्वरः सत्कविः ।
तस्य प्रोद्गतसूक्तिनिर्मलसुधाशुद्धान्तरस्य क्षणात्
एषा निर्मितिरुत्तमा मतिमतां नित्यं मुदे जायताम् ॥ "

56. *Kamalanayana Dīkṣita.*

57. *Brahmagiri.*

58. *Tvaritakavirāya or Tvaritagatikavi.*

59. *Rāmabhadra Bājapeyin.*

60. *Divākara Bhaṭṭa.*

61. *Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa Gurjara.*

N.B.—C.C.=Catalogus Catalogorum of Aufrecht
Hist. Dharm. Lit.=History of Dharmaśāstra Literature, Vol. I, by P. V. Kane.

Archaeology in Baroda

By

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His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad who has been taking a very keen interest in archæology ever since he began to rule his territory has been pleased to institute the Department of Archæology in his State and appoint me as its Director. While making a survey of the monuments in the State with a view to conserve them I thought it desirable to explore some of the ancient sites and see if anything could be traced which might furnish a connecting link with the old civilisation of the Indus Valley for, the belief is that one wave of civilisation came from the Baluchistan side to the west coast of India. If the antique Dvārakā is connected with *dvāra*, i.e., door, it is not impossible that the locality of this name was an entrance for the immigrants. Any old site at or near this locality might show up some remains which are connected with that early civilisation or with the *Mahābhārata* epoch of Indian history. It is rather true that the present *tīrtha* going by the name of Dvārakā has not got any vestige of the hoary past at least on its surface. This absence would throw a doubt whether this Dvārakā is really the antique Dvāravatī mentioned in the verse which names the old *puris* of India :—

अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

The buildings which are seen standing here are comparatively modern. The sepulchral record found at Mulvāsar near Dvārakā, which is the earliest record so far found in this locality, is of the second century of the Christian era and makes no mention of Dvārakā. The Dhinki copperplate, which is dated in the Vikrama year 794 and was found not far from Dvārakā of the present day, while recording the grant of the village of Dhenika, the modern Dhinki lying some eight miles to the south-west of Dvārakā, makes no mention of the renowned *tīrtha* at all. The various temples we see here now-a-days are of the late Musalmān period. Whether it is due to the bigotry of the Islamic invader which was responsible for the destruction of many a splendid work of ancient art that no older structures are left standing here or whether the mighty sea has swallowed the earlier buildings we cannot say at present. I am rather inclined to think that the remains of the Dwārakā of the *Mahā-*

bhārata period are to be found elsewhere. This is a point worth being investigated and I have tried to examine it briefly in my annual report. Here I have noticed it in passing only. The situation of Śaṅkhōddhāra, the Raivata hill and the Prabhāsa-kṣetra would indicate that the old Dvāravatī must have stood somewhere in this tract. Amreli is the district of which the present Dvārakā is a part and it is an old town. Several mounds are seen lying outside Amreli. They contain the remains of the older habitation which have existed on the fork of the two rivulets named Thebi and Vadi which join outside the present town of Amreli. Whether these mounds contain the remains of a pre-historic period is to be seen—we live in hope. I selected a site which has given several old coins and near which a copperplate inscription was found a few years ago. This mound is now known by the name of Gohilvādi-ṭimbo and lies on the left bank of the rivulet Thebi. The copperplate inscription was found in a field lying less than a furlong to the west of it. This document has not been properly published yet. Like the other Valabhī grants it was issued from Valabhī which is now represented by the village of Vala. It belongs to the reign of Kharagraha I, who flourished in the early part of the seventh century of the Christian era. It is dated in the year 297 of the Valabhī era which corresponds to A.D. 1616. The *Dūtaka* concerned was Dharasena, the heir, and the writer was Vappabhaṭṭi. It is donative in character and records a gift of two wells by Kharagraha to a Brahmaṇ named Gupta. The writer, Vappabhaṭṭi, was also the minister of war and peace. This as well as other finds made by the local people led me to try the spade and I carried some trial excavations last year. The results were encouraging and I resumed the excavations this year. It will be desirable to continue them till the whole area under exploration is thoroughly examined. So far minor antiquities have been found. Some structural remains have also been opened. Two graves with human skeletons were found at a depth of about six feet from the present ground level. Near one of these graves the lower portion of a large urn with a bone, apparently human, was excavated. By the side of these graves coins which appear to be Āndhra were secured. They are too worn to admit of identification. On one side of the site a complete and large earthen pot was unearthed at a depth of about seven feet from the present ground level. It would show that to get at the remains of the period to which it pertains huge amount of debris will have to be removed. From the other parts of the site some nice terracotta figurines have been exhumed. They exhibit considerable skill in plastic art. Fragmentary figures of Mahiṣāsuramarddinī in stone were also excavated but they are somewhat crude in workmanship. The majority of the finds are coins, Āndhra (?) as well as Kshatrapa, and ivory or conchshell bangles some of which are very skilfully carved. Coins of Kumāragupta I have also been found practically on the same level with

other coins. In the main portion, which lies to the west, foundations of walls made of undressed stones, mostly boulders, have also been exposed. Their nature is not yet clear and it cannot be said if they pertain to any fortifications. The walls which have been opened so far are made of bricks which mostly measure about 18 by 12 or 10 and 3 inches. This is usually the size of the bricks belonging to the Gupta epoch. The bangles might have been made on the spot and there might have been a factory over here. One is led to such a surmise by the find of the remaining pieces of the conches of which the ornaments were made.

These finds would lead us to the conclusion that urn burial was in vogue in Kathiāwāḍ about the second century of the Christian era and that it is hardly safe to rest exclusively on the evidence of coins for the determination of the age of a stratum. One might think that older coins continued to be current in very many cases and were accepted for barter or other purposes.

Some Indian words in the Oxford English Dictionary

By

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Every living language is also a growing language, and it is to the credit of English that every year it absorbs and uses more and more new words borrowed from all over the world. It is natural, it is inevitable, that in the process of absorption and assimilation words should sometimes change both their form and their meaning. But in the interests of sound scholarship it is necessary that their correct meaning and derivation should be given in a Dictionary. The Oxford English Dictionary occupies a position of unique authority; and it is not right that it should contain any inaccuracies. In November 1933, a supplement to the *Oxford English Dictionary* was published. I take from it some examples of error in meaning or derivation. I have made no attempt to make the list exhaustive.

1. *Amah* is derived from *Portuguese* ama, nurse. Is it not *amma,* a corrupt form of Sanskrit *ambá,* mother ?
2. *Attah* is said to be Punjabi. Actually the word is Hindustani; its pronunciation should be *ah-tah,* and spelling *ata.*
3. *Badmash* is explained as bad character. That is the general, but not the original meaning of the word. Shakespeare, in his Hindustani and English Dictionary (1834) explains the word as " Of a bad profession or way of life, of an infamous trade, immoral." This is more accurate.
4. *Bael* is vaguely derived from Hindi. It is of course derived from Sanskrit *bilwa*—the fruit of Ægle marmelos.
5. *Bandar* is said to be of Hindustani origin. It is from Sanskrit *vánara;* indeed, in Hindustani too, the form *ba'nar* is frequently used.
6. *Bat* is not an Anglo-Indian colloquialism, but good Hindustani, from Sanskrit *vártta'.*
7. *Bhisti.* The menial services were in India ennobled by very high sounding designations—choudhry, mehtar, jamadar. In Persian, the waterman is called *quabuqchi;* in India *bhisti,* the heavenly.

8. *Buck.* Derived from Sanskrit *vák,* speech.

9. *Bunnia.* Whitworth, in his *Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (1885) correctly derives it from Sanskrit *vaṇik.* Neither Whitworth nor *O.E.D.* gives the colloquial meaning in which the word is used in Anglo-Indian circles, that of a miser.

10. *Chamár.* It is derived from Sanskrit *charmaka'r,* one who works in leather.

11. *Dhobi.* It is explained as being derived from Hindustani *dhob* washing. This is of course pure imagination. *Dhona, dhulana, dhulwana*—these words are correct, but they are not derived from *dhob.* The correct derivation is from Sanskrit *dháv,* to wash.

12. *Dhoti.* Derived from Sanskrit, *dhauta,* washed, whitened.

13. *Durwan.* Is not derived from Hindi, but from Persian, *darbán.*

14. *Gurrah.* The correct form is *ghurrah.*

15. *Swami.* In the sense of ' idol ' is restricted to South India.

16. *Vaisya.* The pronunciation " vī-sya " is wrong.

17. *Vina* is derived from Sanskrit, not from Hindustani.

18. *Zillah.* It is not clear what is meant by deriving this from Hindustani *dilah.*

These are some words which should be carefully examined, and the meanings, derivation, and pronunciation of which should be corrected in a subsequent edition.

Babylon and India

By

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There are few more perplexing questions than that of the source of the Indian Nakṣatras, and, therefore, it is natural that one should readily welcome any possibility of new evidence throwing light on their origin. Such a possibility is presented to us in an interesting paper on a parallel between Indic and Babylonian sacrificial ritual published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*[1] by Professors W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumant, the author of a very interesting study on *L'Aśvamedha*.[2] It is therefore well worth while to examine in detail the new material in order to ascertain whether it really aids us to attain any conclusion.

It is pointed out that the evidence of the Indus civilisation shows that commercial, cultural, and possibly racial relations existed between India and Mesopotamia at a very remote age, going back to the beginning of the Early Bronze (cir. 3000 B.C.), if not far back into the Chalcolithic of the fourth millennium. Secondly, the great Aryan irruption into India and Western Asia during the first centuries of the second millennium, with its introduction of the two-man chariot,[3] may have fostered rapid transportation and thus greatly increased the possibility of the spread of cultural elements at the time of the Indo-Iranian dispersion. This, of course, is conjectural; but there is no doubt of the possibility of cultural influence under the Assyrian Empire (cir. 900—612 B.C.); for, if the Assyrians did not in their conquests reach the borders of India, there was abundant room for influence through the Iranian tribes which fell beneath their sway, and sea traffic was favoured by the growth of the Chaldæan states along the Persian Gulf. Three products of India, it is fairly clear, were introduced into Western Asia in the late Assyrian period, cotton, the peacock,[4] and the domestic fowl. A fourth period of influence falls under the Persian Empire, when a common culture, with Iranian and Aramaic colouring, held sway from Sardes to Taxila.

1. Vol. 54, pages 107-128.
2. Paris and Louvain, 1927.
3. Albright, *Archiv für Orient = forschung*, VI (1931), 217-21.
4. The authors accept the view of Clark, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXXVI. 103ff. that the supposed peacocks of Ophir had nothing to do with India.

The horse-sacrifice is one of the most famous of the ancient Vedic sacrifices. Described in full detail in the later Saṁhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas, it is known in the *Ṛgveda* itself (i, 162, 163) in a form differing substantially from that record in the Brāmaṇas, and its great antiquity may safely be assumed. The horse-sacrifice, it is suggested, was probably of Indo-Iranian if not Indo-European origin. This suggestion is unquestionably valid in a certain measure. We know that, on arrival at the Strymon, Xerxes had white horses sacrificed by the magicians. We know from Greek literature of sacrifices of horses at Rhodes and on Mount Taygetus in Arcadia. Festus gives us information of the annual sacrifice of a horse at Rome with a ritual patently of vegetation character. But none of these offerings bears any close analogy to the Vedic horse-sacrifice, which marks the priestly development of what was doubtless in origin a much simpler rite. Still less analogous is the earliest archæological illustration of the sacrifice in question, which is ascribed to Indo-Iranian outposts in Southern Palestine dating from the seventeenth or sixteenth century B.C., for in it we have horses sacrificed to the shades of their masters and buried with them in the tomb.[5] That after all is no more than the natural rite of placing with the dead the things he loved and needed in life, and bears no essential relation to the horse-sacrifice of India. But it is well to note that the evidence is adequate to suggest that it was a feature of Indo-Iranian civilisation to hold the horse in high honour and to offer it in sacrifice.

The closest parallel in Mesopotamia to this offering is found in a ritual text from Assur, the southern capital of Assyria, which is interpreted to refer to the offering of a horse which is to be hitched to the chariot of the great god Marduk. The ritual seems to have been originally connected with the offering of an ass and may be assigned to the period from 2100 to 1800 B.C., an earlier date being precluded by the importance in it of Babylon which prior to the First Dynasty was of negligible importance. The substitution of the horse must date from the time when the horse was introduced, and a date in the second half of the second millennium is suggested. It is, however, necessary to note that there is much that is conjectural in this account. The view that an ass was originally the object of the ritual depends on the interpretation to be placed on the term *zappu* which is believed to be in the text; it is argued that it means 'bristly or tufted mane', and cannot apply to a horse. Neither assumption can be regarded as certain; in special it seems quite impossible to deny that the reference may simply be to the mane of the horse. If this were so, the antiquity of the record may be

5. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* I, 1931, pp. 3-5, pl. VIII-X.

greatly overstated; it does not appear, therefore, possible to lay stress on the evidence as yet available as proving great antiquity for the sacrifice of the horse in Mesopotamia.

But it is held that in a Babylonian ritual there is evidence which suggests the true Babylonian character of the later rite and suggests that the horse-sacrifice and its predecessor, the ass-sacrifice, may be derived from the sacrifice of the bull. The ritual in question concerns the slaying of a bull as part of a rite intended to consecrate the most important musical instrument of the *kalü* priest, a small drum made of bronze over which was stretched the skin of the sacrificial bull. The latest date for the ritual is the eigth century B.C., but it is suggested that it goes back farther, because much time would be required before such a ritual could be adopted in different cities of Babylonia and Assyria. The evidence is, it may be noted, insufficient to ascribe any really early date to this ritual, and it is not possible to prove an earlier date because no rituals from the Sumerian period have been preserved. It is admitted that Sumerian times probably did not use elaborate rituals, but it is suggested that the evolution in the ritual, which must be assumed, does not necessarily imply a late date for the various motives of the ritual, each of which must be considered on its own merits. Few new rites, it is suggested, were devised during the later course of Sumero-Accadian religious history; but liturgic evolution consisted mainly in the amplification and combination of rites already known. All this is possible and reasonable as a general theory, but it must be remarked that we are left without any convincing evidence of the early date of this particular ritual. This is naturally most unfortunate, for this fact renders the value of the ritual as proof of the Babylonian character of the horse-sacrifice wholly doubtful. Neither proof of the thesis nor refutation is possible on the basis of these facts.

The question now arises of the claim made by the authors that there are extraordinary similarities between the Vedic and the Babylonian rites. This claim, however, requires careful consideration. In both rituals, it is pointed out, the priest murmurs incantations into the ear of the horse, so that only the horse can hear the words. Both incantations are calculated to please and praise the animal. The horse is designated to "follow the course of the Ādityas" while in the Babylonian incantation the horse is assigned to draw the chariot of Marduk. In this point, however, a real parallelism seems to be lacking. The horse in the Vedic ritual is not regarded as intended to serve in the humble capacity of drawing a chariot of the great god. There is, in fact, this vital distinction between the two rites. In the Vedic rite the horse is perceived as the embodiment of the swift sun and in that of Babylon

the horse is merely assigned the humble duty of drawing the chariot of the god.

In the case of the Babylonian bull-sacrifice the animal again is slaughtered for the purpose of providing an ox-hide to stretch over the drum of the priest. Here again the animal fills but a minor and comparatively speaking humble role. It is difficult to recognise in such a sacrifice any prototype for the Vedic offering. The words are in all cases whispered into the ear of the victim, but this appears to be merely one instance of a practice of no special ethnic character. Rather should it be regarded in the same light as the parallel adduced elsewhere[6] by the authors between the Indian and the Babylonian practice of the sacrificer taking hold of the priest during the offering. In both cases the aim of the sacrificer is thus to obtain a share in the magic or divine power with which the priest is especially imbued at the moment of sacrifice, because he thus enters into the most direct possible contact with deity.

It is claimed, however, that a genuine evidence of derivation is to be seen in the rôle played by a white tuft or group of seven tufts of hair identified with the Pleiades in both rituals. The facts are that according to two authorities on the ritual, Sātyayajñi and Kātyāyana, the horse should be *kṛttikāñji,* that is, marked with a *kṛttikā.*[7] The commentators on Kātyāyana explain the term to mean " having on the forehead a mark in the shape of a cart." This interpretation is inquestionably open to doubt, and it may be that the term really means " having a mark in the shape of the Pleiades." In the case of the Babylonian bull-sacrifice it is expressly stated that the bull must not be speckled with seven white tufts of hair like stars. The parallelism appears non-existent, but it is suggested that the text can be amended so that we are to understand that the bull really should have such a mark ; this is conceivable, but obviously the whole idea is purely conjectural. Apart, however, from this, in the horse-sacrifice the word *zappu* is employed in the sense of tuft of hair on the head, which reminds one strikingly, it is argued, of the Indian mark on the forehead in the shape of the Pleiades. This argument, however, appears to be wholely untenable, for the term *zappu,* in the ritual text in question, according to the authors' own interpretation of it, refers to the mane of the ass, and in view of that fact the alleged parallel is non-existent. It appears to me, therefore, that there is not the slightest reason to connect any of these Babylonian sacrifices with Indo-European. Nor can we say that the Babylonians certainly

6. *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXIV, 128, note 69.
7. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa,* xiii, 4, 2, 1-4 ; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra,* XX, 1. 29-36.

borrowed the practice of sacrificing the horse from the Indo-Iranians. The horse may well have been introduced to them by the Indo-Iranians, but the Babylonian sacrifice of the horse, if we are to accept the authors' own theory, is a substitution of the horse for the ass, which used to be sacrificed in the time before the horse was known to the Babylonians, and, as has been pointed out above, there is a vital difference in purpose and character between the Vedic horse-sacrifice and the Babylonian, and no evidence exists to show that the Iranians had a horse-sacrifice more akin to that of the Babylonians.

I fear, therefore, that the new evidence does not help in any way to strengthen the case for deducing the Indian Nakṣatras from Babylonian sources. It was natural to conjecture such an origin for the Indian series of lunar stations, but the hope of proving this derivation is becoming fainter as time goes on and in Babylonia no such list of lunar stations is brought to light. We know that the zodiac is of Babylonian origin, but the twelve zodiacal signs did not supplant the proto-zodiac until about the neo-Babylonian or Persian period.[8] The oldest list of zodiacal constellations gives seventeen ; it cannot be later than the eighth century B.C., and Weidner attributes its composition to the First Dynasty (latest date 2050-1750 B.C.). As the Babylonian proto-zodiac was called " route of the moon ", there is a close parallel in conception to the Indian lunar stations, but the divergence in number is serious ; the idea is far from recondite, and it may quite easily have been devised independently by the Babylonians and the Indo-Iranians. The most interesting similarity lies in the fact that the Pleiades take first place in both lists. But the theory, formerly popular, that this is explained by the fact that the Pleiades were the constellation of the vernal equinox, appears to have little to commend it. It is stated that the few Assyriologists who once accepted the theory abandoned it as untenable, and there was never any probability in the correctness of the theory as regards India. A new solution offered is the folk-loristic one based on the widespread popular association of the Pleiades with rain and inundation. We may compare the fact that the Egyptians associated the Nile inundation with the heliacal rising of Sirius. It is conceivable that in India the inundation of the Indus came to be connected with the heliacal rising of the Pleiades. In the case of Babylon there is evidence that the Babylonians brought the Pleiades into association with the river inundations in the spring, after the snows on the Zagros and the Armenian mountains had melted. The whole matter again remains in the field of conjecture, but it offers a more promising basis of investigation than that based on the assumption of an extraordinary astronomical

8. Weidner, *Archiv für Orient=forschung*, VII, 170-8.

development, which forms the necessary pre-requisite for the discovery of the precession of the Equinoxes.

Interesting and suggestive therefore as is this attempt to find points of contact between Indian and Babylonian civilisation, it does not appear to have been successful, though it may be hoped that further research on the lines indicated may succeed in achieving more definite results. The impression, however, gains strength that Indo-European religion as developed in India, rested on specific bases which negatived the successful influence of Babylonian civilisation.

Śankara and the World

By

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In Śaṅkara-Vedānta, the elements of differences and multiplicity have, we think, a much stronger place than is generally believed. One-sided over-emphasis has been given to the Supreme Unity, and the self has been exalted at the expense of the differences. Brahman is not the unity in which all the differences are lost, but the unity which *realises* itself in the differences— "**नामरूपादि आत्मना विनिर्म्मुक्तं 'असत्' सम्पद्यते**" i.e. "the self is the *truth* of all differences of nāma-rūpa." Śaṅkara has insisted upon the valuable fact that although this world is to be taken as the manifestation or appearance of Brahman, we are not to forget at the same time that there is Brahman underlying this world—

यथैव हि ब्रह्मणो जगदुत्पत्तिः श्रूयते, एवं विकारव्यतिरेकेणापि ब्रह्मणोऽवस्थानं श्रूयते" —ब्र० स्०भा० 2-1-27

That is to say, we must be careful not to reduce Brahman entirely to the changing nāma-rūpas of the manifested world, as if forfeiting the unity of its nature, Brahman, as soon as the world appears with all its varieties, has become something else (**अन्य**), has become multiple and with parts i.e. **सावयव** and **अनेकात्मक**. Śaṅkara in this very place has warned us against this view by remarking "**न हि अविद्याकल्पितेन रूपभेदेन सावयवं वस्तु सम्पद्यते**". It is our *Avidya* which makes us look upon these nāma-rūpas as elements (**अवयव**) of Brahman, forgetting the fact that the nature of Brahman always transcends the world of nāma-rūpa.

The plurality of the finite objects pre-supposes the unity "**पूर्व्वसिद्धोऽप हि सन्नात्मा जगदाकारेण परिणमयामास आत्मानम्**" i.e., "The self which was self-complete and was in full existence modified itself into something special, as the world," and "has its being in the unity"— "**विकाराणां सदात्मना सत्यत्वम्**" —i.e. All modifications have self for their reality or truth and it can not be reduced to the position of a mere shadow. These differences of nāma-rūpa are self-differentiations of the unity and cannot therefore be *mere* objects, but these are selves as well as objects. For, the objects are the manifestations of the self, can not

exist apart from the self ; and as the Absolute is present, as a whole, in each of these differences, they must partake of the nature of the Absolute.

"यच्च यदात्मना यत्र न वर्त्तते, न तत् तत उत्पद्यते"

" What is not *contained in* a thing cannot be produced from it."

It is for this reason that, prior to manifestation, this world of nāma-rūpa is called as अव्यक्त. Śaṅkara in Māṇḍūkya (आगमप्रकरण) states that प्राणबीज exists in *Pralaya* and in *Suṣupta* states in अव्याकृत (potential) condition, i.e., not yet differentiated in space and time order—

"अव्याकृतस्य देशकालविशेषाभावात् अव्याकृत एव प्राणः सुषुप्ते.....सर्वभावानामुत्पत्तेः प्राक् प्राणबीजात्मनैव सत्वम्"(6)

" In the dreamless state, the *Prāṇa* was not differentiated. Before their birth (i.e. production) all objects had their being in the form of the potential prāṇa." It then becomes manifested as differentiations in space and time. In the Taittirīya-bhāṣya, this undifferentiated नाम-रूप is called आत्मा or आत्मभूत in that state ; for, there was nothing to distinguish it from आत्मा. But as soon as it comes out of Brahman, it begins to be called *Mūrtāmūrta* (मूर्त्तामूर्त्त); for, some differentiations now arise—

"आत्मना तु अप्रविभक्तदेशकाले इति कृत्वा 'आत्मा' ते, व्याकृते च मूर्त्तामूर्त्तशब्दवाच्ये ते अभवदित्युच्येते"—

" They (i.e. the nāma-rūpas) were called Ātmā or the ' Self ' as there was no differentiation in time and space ; but as soon as they became manifested or unfolded, they were called by the terms *Mūrta* and *Amūrta* (i.e. formed and formless) and still they were inseparable from the Ātmā, both in time and space."

In the Chāndogya also, the same idea is found. This world existing in Brahman in undifferentiated state could be called सत् for, it was *indistinguishably* blended with sat-Brahman in that condition—

"ननु न श्रुतं त्वया सदेवेत्यवधारणम् इदंशब्दवाच्यस्य कार्यस्य?"

" Have you not heard that it was the *being* itself which *now* subsists in the form of that which is denoted by the word " this "—which signifies the *effect* ? "

But when it becomes manifested, it now shows itself as सत् plus something *more*—

"किं न इदानीमपीदं सदेव? न; कथं तर्हि ?
"इदानीमपीदं सदेव, किंतु नामरूप-विशेषणवदिदंशब्दबुद्धिविषयं च"—

"Is it not this Pure Being even now ? No ; wherefore the specification then ? At the present time also, this is Pure Being no doubt,—but *also* differentiated into names and forms, the object of the notion of "this".

Aitareya-bhāṣya also tells us the same tale. In *Avyakta*-condition —undifferentiated state—what could be called Ātmā (आत्मैकशब्दगोचरम्) is now called by *another* additional term (अनेकशब्द-प्रत्ययगोचरं च),

Let us quote the whole thing here—

प्रागुत्पत्तेःअव्याकृतनामरूपभेदमात्मैकशब्दप्रत्ययगोचरं जगत्, इदानीं व्याकृतनामरूपभेदत्वात् अनेकशब्दप्रत्ययगोचरं आत्मैकशब्दप्रत्ययगोचरं च इति विशेषः

i.e., "Before the creation, the universe with no manifested difference of name and form and being one with the *Ātmā*, was denoted by the word 'Ātmā' alone ; but *now*, owing to the manifestation of the difference of name and form, it is denoted by many words and *also* by the one word *Ātmā*."

From these quotations, it is clear that as the differentiations come out, there is some *distinction*, some difference (वैलक्षण्य) which *now* appears.

For, Śaṅkara remarks—

"अत्यन्तसारूप्ये प्रकृति-विकारोच्छेदप्रसंगः"।
"न हि असति अतिशये प्रकृति-विकारभाव इति भवति"—

"If there is absolute identity, the difference between the cause and effect will disappear. There is something (certain superiority) in the effect over and above the cause : otherwise there can be no difference between cause and effect."

What was simply कारण, now appears as कार्य, what was सामान्य now came out in a विशेष form—

अपास्तविशेषं कारणमेव तत्तद्विशेषवदवस्थापन्नं कार्य-संज्ञां लभते
(वे० भा० 2-3-7)

—i.e. "The same identical *cause* existing without any sign of differentiation is designated an *effect*, when it passes over into a different state distinguished by peculiar marks."

It is for this reason that Śaṅkara concludes that—

" सलक्षणं विलक्षणं च .....अक्षरात् संभवति समस्तं जगत् "
(मु०भा०, 1-1-6)

" The whole universe is produced from the *Akṣara* both in its identity and difference of nature."

But now the question arises—Is this वैलक्षण्य (difference or distinction) absolute ? No ; it cannot be absolutely different. For, what is an effect ? It is the cause itself which has taken the shape of an effect— कार्याकार—

" कार्य्यकारोऽपि कारणस्य आत्मभूत एव" (वे० भा० 2-1-8)

i.e. " The form of effect is in reality the same as the cause."

In reality, the effect, the finite, is no other than the cause, the infinite itself. The cause (कारण) becoming its *other* has not really become something quite different from it. For, we know that—

"न विशेषदर्शनमात्रेण वस्त्वन्यत्वं भवति.....
स एवेति प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् "(वे० भा०, 2-1-18)

" The continuity and identity of the thing is not lost, when it appears under a different aspect ; . . . for, it is recognised as such."

Hence, as the finite is not something quite different from, other than, the infinite, how can it negate or exclude, the idea of its cause ? Hence, the वैलक्षण्य (difference) cannot be absolute.

It is our *Avidyā* which makes the distinction absolute. Avidyā supposes finite is *not* infinite, and infinite is not finite. They stand facing each other totally opposed. But this is a wrong view : it will make the infinite finite. (Ve. Bhā. III. ii. 37).

Hence the infinite is not something *outside* the finite ; it has the finite within the infinite. This is the correct view. Hence we need not *abolish* the finite world ; there is not any opposition or contradiction between the two.

Śaṅkara's idealism thus teaches us that all reality is spirit. But it is not simply the *identification* of the two—the unity and the differences—so as to obliterate all distinction between the two.

(1) Although the object is not the subject but its *other*, yet every object at a higher level of thought (पारमार्थिक दृष्टि) is *also the self.* In becoming its *other,* in going out to its object as *other,* it does not lose

its own self, but it is one with *itself*. Whatever is finite object, has the nature of the self manifested in it ; it finds itself in it as having a self as its own.

(2) A finite is that which has a limit. If something is limited, it follows that beyond the limit, there is another something. Therefore to be finite means to be limited by something else. Śaṅkara says—

" अश्वत्वान्तं गोत्वमिति अन्तवदेव भवति स च अन्तो भिन्नेषु वस्तुषु दृष्टः"

" Every finite thing has an *end ;* as the ' cow ' stands at the end of the horse '. We are aware of the end of a thing, when a different thing stands beyond it."

But limit always involves *negation* (निवर्तकत्व). A horse is a horse and not a cow. Its being a horse is just what limits it, *prevents* it from being a cow. It is in its *negative* aspect that quality is limit. Śaṅkara says—

"यतो यस्य बुद्धेर्निवृत्तिः स तस्य अन्तो भवति यथा गोत्वबुद्धिरश्वत्वात् विनिवर्त्तते"

" Limit always involves ' negation '. As for instance, the idea of a "cow ' *negates* or excludes the idea of the ' horse ' ".

This is what keeps one thing *separate* भिन्नेषु वस्तुषु from another thing. Each one negates or excludes the other *ones* from it. Thus one finite object negates another finite object—

" वस्त्वन्तरबुद्धिर्हि प्रसक्तात् वस्त्वन्तरान् 'निवर्त्तयति"

" Where there is the cognisance of a *different* thing, there we turn away from (negate) that thing."

Now, can any of the finite objects negate or exclude the infinite ? No ; it cannot. Why ? Because in the Vedānta, the infinite is the *cause* of all finite objects. Hence none of the finite objects can negate or exclude their cause.

" न हि कार्य्यं नाम वस्तुतोऽस्ति । यतः कारणबुद्धिर्विनिवर्त्तते"

" Really there is no effect which can negate or exclude the idea of the cause from it."

As it is the cause, say मृत् (clay) which has distinguished itself from itself in the form of its effects—पिण्ड (lump), घट (Pot), etc.,— as पाक is really not something *different* from the कारण, it cannot

negate the idea of the cause. The infinite being the cause runs through all its effects अनुगत underlies (i.e. as अधिष्ठान or ground) each of of the finite effects ; hence how can कार्य be treated as standing outside of, or at the end of, the कारण ? Hence the infinite does not exclude but includes its effects within it.

" पिंडः घटं व्यभिचरति घटश्च पिंडं, किंतु पिंड-घटौ मृत्त्वं न व्यभिचरतः "

" The lump (of clay) excludes the jar, and so does the jar the lump, yet both the lump and the jar do not exclude the clay."

The readers are particularly requested to note here that it is not the *scientific* principle of *causality* which Śaṅkara advocates, but it is the philosophical principle of causality of अनन्यत्व —one-sided dependence of effects on the cause (not temporal succession) which remains *identical* with itself.

" नासावुपमृद्यमाना पूर्वावस्था उत्तरावस्थायाः कारणमभ्युपगम्यते.....
किं तु अनुपमृद्यमानानामनुयायिनां.....कारणभावाभ्युपगमात् "

(वे० भा० 2-2-26)

" The cause of subsequent *condition* here is not the earlier condition in so far as it is destroyed . . . but rather those things of *permanent* nature which are always recognised as the causes, which do not lose their *identity* and *continuity*."

Kant also, it may be noted, admits, over and above the " laws of empirical causality ", a " non-empirical and intelligent causality " (vide Dr. P. K. Roy's—'*Kant's doctrines of Free causality of Reason*').

It is clear now that as the infinite does not exclude the finite, as there is no real opposition between them, we need not *abolish* the differences of Nāma-rūpa declaring them *false*. It is our Avidyā which looks upon the differences of नामरूप —the जगत् —as absolutely different, as absolutely separate (अन्य) from Brahman, as an independent reality (वस्त्वन्तर).

"जागरिते स्वप्ने वा अन्यदिव आत्मनो, 'वस्त्वन्तर' मिव अविद्यया प्रत्युपस्थापितं भवति"

" In the waking and the dreaming states, it is *avidyā* which presents something as different from the *ātmā*, as if it is something else, something quite new ", etc.

Separated from Brahman and looked upon as something absolutely different (अन्य) from Ātmā, the world of nāma-rūpa—the finite things,

are unreal or false. But this is the effect of *avidyā*. It is a wrong view. We have seen above that from the higher view, the world is अनन्य —non-separate, identical, with Brahman ; the world of Nāma-rūpa is not excluded from, but included in, Brahman. We see thus that we need not abolish the world. We must always take the differences of Nāma-rūpa as the expression of Brahman's nature and hence they are अनन्य from it, identical with it. The differences are its partial aspects or expressions : hence they are *within* its own self-identity. You cannot place them outside of it. This is the पारमार्थिक standpoint. But we are, in our व्यावहारिक-अवस्था always under the influence of Avidyā and regard the differences as separated from, and independent of Brahman. In this sense, the world is unreal, false. But the former is the true view. In our opinion, this is the position of Śaṅkara.

Compare—

" एष विशेषो विदुषां पश्यन्तोऽपि प्रपंच-संसारं पृथगात्मनो न पश्येत्"

Also—

" न पृथगनुभवः किंतु तत्साहचर्य्यात् "

Also—

" तद्-युक्तमखिलं वस्तु व्यवहारश्चिदन्वितः"

" It is the peculiarity of those really wise men who, while seeing this cycle of world, do not take it as something *different* from the *Ātmā*." " Not felt as different, but in intimate *connection* with it." " All objects are in inseparable *relation* with Brahman, and our practical life is *connected* with Self."

Śaṅkara brings about the same idea in a different way in another place. He regards चेतन as स्वार्थ —as self-existent, having the purpose of its own being in itself. And he calls all the अचेतन finite Nāma-rūpas, as परार्थ;—"अचेतने स्वार्थानुपपत्तेः "(बृ०भा) The finite differences or the so-called objects are all *for* the चेतन, *for* the Self ; they have no independent purpose of their own. We thus see that if we take the objects as independent and self-sufficient things, we are wrong. But if we take Brahman as their sustaining ground in which they are included and whose purpose they serve, then this would be the correct and real view of the case. Śaṅkara also remarks that we love the finite things of the world for the sake of the Self.

" आत्मनस्तु कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति" etc., etc.

" The husband, etc., is loved for the sake of the love of the Self."

Thus there is no *opposition* and *exclusion* between the infinite and the finite and no need arises to *abolish* the things of the world at all. This is the अनन्यत्ववोध or अभेद्-दृष्टि; this is ब्रह्म-दर्शन in the world. This is possible even here. Such अनन्य दृष्टि is मुक्ति in Śaṅkara-Vedanta. But if the world is cut off from Brahman and taken as something अन्य or independent, outside of Brahman ;—this is भेद्-दृष्टि and this is बन्धन But disappearance of अन्यत्व-वोध is मुक्ति

" अन्यत्वभाव-निवृत्तौ आत्मभावो भवति सर्वात्म-भावो मोक्षः" (बृ० भा०)

" When the idea of *separateness* vanishes, there is established the idea of the Self (everywhere); and the final emancipation is seeing the Self in everything."

Thus, according to Śaṅkara, the Nāma-rūpas or the finite things are not *apart* from Brahman, neither can they stand for Brahman, and that is why Brahman is called Nirguṇa. We thus find that in Śaṇkara's own theory, what is denied is not the existence of the plurality as finite modes of the infinite, but their existence apart from, and independent of, Brahman. As the differences cannot be separated from the unity, the latter although transcending cannot be an *abstraction,* as it includes all. As the Self is transcendent and as it goes beyond the world of Nāma-rūpas, there is also no question of identity or सामनाधिकरण्य between the two. Śaṅkara holds that under the influence of Avidyā which is inherent in us, we erroneously *identify* the world with Brahman which is an unreal or false view.

A Note on Śākapūṇi

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Śākapūṇi is the author of a Nirukta who preceded Yāska, and whom Yāska quotes in his Nirukta. The following are the places where Yāska mentions Śākapūṇi.

1. Śākapūṇis saṅkalpayāñcakre sarvā devatā jānānīti. tasmai Devatobhayaliṅgā prādurbabhūva. tām na jajñe. tām papraccha vividiṣāṇi tvā iti. tasmā etām ṛcam ādideśa eṣā maddevateti. Nir. 11-8.

And then follows RV. I-164-29.[1]

2. Vidyut taḷid bhavatīti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. III-11.
3. Mahān kasmāt ? mānenānyāñ jahātīti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. III-13.
4. Ṛtvik kasmāt ? īraṇaḥ. ṛg yaṣṭā bhavatīti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. III-19.
5. Yoniḥ sitāmeti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. IV-3.
6. Kanyayor adhiṣṭhānapravacanāni saptamyā ekavacanānīti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. IV-15.
7. Sarve kṣiyatinigamā iti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. V-3.
8. Spaṣṭam darśanāyeti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. V-13.
9. Acchābher āptum iti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. V-28.
10. Tribhya ākhyātebhyo jāyata iti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. VII-14.
11. Pṛthivyām antarikṣe divīti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir VII-28, VIII-6, 10, 14, 17, 18, XII-19.
12. Ayam evāgnir dravinodā iti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. VIII-2.
13. Agnir iti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. VIII-5.
14. Yad eva viśvaliṅgam iti śākapūṇiḥ. Nir. XII-40.

Śākapūṇi is also mentioned by the author of the Bṛhaddevatā. The following are the places where Śākapūṇi is mentioned in the Bṛhaddevatā :

1. Sāyaṇa does not refer to this in his Rigvedabhāṣya.

1. Jātavedasyam sūktasahasram eka aindrāt pūrvam kaśyapārṣam vadanti
   jātavedase sūktam ādyam tu teṣām ekabhūyastvam manyate śākapūṇiḥ. BD. III-130.
2. sampravādam romaśayendrarājñor ete ṛcau manyate śākapūṇiḥ. BD. III-155.
3. śunāsīram yāska indran tu mene sūryendrau tau manyate śākapūṇiḥ. BD. V-8.
4. iḷaspatim śākapūṇiḥ. BD. 39.
5. Agnim vaiśvānaram stutam manyate śākapūṇis tu. BD. VI-46.
6. Ṛtvijo yajamānañ ca śākapūṇis tu manyate. BD. VII-70.
7. sūryam eke pracakṣate mudgalaś śākapūṇiś ca. BD. VIII-90.

Of the 14 quotations from Śākapūṇi found in Yāska's Nirukta, nine are of the nature of interpretations of words, and the remaining five are of the nature of interpretations of Devatās. All the seven quotations from Śākapūṇi found in the Bṛhaddevatā have reference to Devatās.

It has been found that Yāska has written, besides the Nirukta, a Sarvānukramaṇī on the Taittirīyasaṃhitā.[2] It is very unlikely that it is the same Yāska who has written both the works.[3] It may be that Śākapūṇi too has written both a Nirukta and also an Anukramaṇī and the quotations regarding the Devatās found in the Nirukta of Yāska and in the Bṛhaddevatā are from the Anukramaṇī of Śākapūṇi ; it is also possible that like the two Yāskas, the authors of the Nirukta and of the Yajurvedasarvānukramaṇī, there were two Śākapūṇis, one who wrote a Nirukta and the other who wrote the Anukramaṇī. We cannot say anything about it definitely ; we can only make conjectures based on analogy. It is not also improbable that the quotations from Śākapūṇi which refer to the Devatās in the Ṛgveda are from that portion of his Nirukta which corresponds to the Daivata-kāṇḍa of Yāska's Nirukta.

Besides Śākapūṇi, there are other authors who preceded Yāska and who have written authoritative works on Vedic Exegesis. Gālava, Mudgala, Kātthakya, Bhāguri and Śākaṭāyana are some among them. But what is specially noteworthy regarding Śākapūṇi, as distinct from others, is that his works seem, to have been preserved for long centuries after Yāska, when the works of others were lost. There are quotations from the work of Śākapūṇi found in the Vedic commentaries of

2. See Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. V p. 215ff.
3. Ibid.

much later times, which cannot be based on mere tradition, but which must be based on direct knowledge of the work of Śākapūṇi current even at that late time.

Skandasvāmin has written a commentary on the Ṛgveda[4] and his date, so far as may be determined from evidences available now, is about 600 A.D.[5] In his commentary on the Ṛgveda, of which only a small portion is available, he quotes from Śākapūṇi. The following are the quotations found in the available portion.

1. Vivasvat. Yajamānanāmaitat śākapūṇinā paṭhitam.
RV. I-46-13 (53-1 also).
2. Anu vyacaḥ. vyāptināmaitac chākapūṇinā paṭhitam.
RV. I-52-14 (104-9 and 108-2 also).
3. Yama iti yajñanāma śākapūṇinā paṭhitam.
RV. I-83-5.
4. Dāśvān iti yajamānanāma śākapūṇinā paṭhitam.
RV. I-113-18.

None of these passages quoted by Skandasvāmin from Śākapūṇi could be traced to Yāska or Bṛhaddevatā, and so Skandasvāmin may be said to have had direct access to the text of Śākapūṇi. There are some other Vedic commentaries where also there are references to Śākapūṇi. In a work called Niruktasamuccaya attributed to Vararuci there is a reference to Śākapūṇi as follows :

Dāśvān iti śākapūṇinā nairuktācāryeṇa yajamānanāmasu paṭhyate.
IV Kalpa, st. 8.

This need not be taken as a direct reference to Śākapūṇi. The author may have taken the reference from Skandasvāmin or some other commentator. The reference is seen in Skandasvāmin (quotation 4 above). This is the only reference to Śākapūṇi found in the Niruktasamuccaya of Vararuci. This is a small work in four kalpas of which only one manuscript is available.[6] This is in the nature of commentaries on some Vedic passages, about a hundred in number. The date cannot be determined with the material now available. It must be later than Skandasvāmin, since in many cases the passages are identical in the two works, and it is more reasonable to assume that Vararuci based his Nirukta-

4. Recently published as Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8.
5. See No. 4.
6. Adyar Library, XXI. No. 3. Dr. L. Sarup, Lahore, writes on this work in the last volume of his Edition of Maheśvara's Commentary on the Nirukta, but he is silent about the source of his information.

samuccaya on Skandasvāmin than the contrary. Since the work refers only to very ancient authors, it need not be taken as a late work. But the upper limit for the date of the work cannot be determined.

There is a reference to Śākapūṇi in another commentary on the Ṛgveda by one Mādhava. For this work also there is only one manuscript.[7] It is this Mādhava from whom Devarāja quotes in his Nighaṇṭubhāṣya, but whom Devarāja occasionally confuses with Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya (who too has written a commentary on the Ṛgveda). In the portion available, there are two references to Śākapūṇi :

1. Jaritāraḥ stotāraḥ. Jaratiḥ stutikarmā. Kriyater iti śākapūṇiḥ. RV. I-2-2.
2. Kiñ ca tad vicakrame viṣṇus tredhā nidadhe padam. pṛthivyām antarikṣe divīti śākapūṇiḥ. RV. I-22-17.

The first of these two is not seen in Skandasvāmin. One cannot say whether Skandasvāmin makes such a reference to Śākapūṇi in any portion of his commentary which is not available now. But until it can be proved to be otherwise, it is only reasonable to assume that Mādhava too had direct access to the work of Śākapūṇi. The date of Mādhava too cannot be definitely determined. The second quotation above is traceable to Yāska (see quotation No. 11 above found in Yāska). It may here be mentioned that a similar statement is made by Skandasvāmin in the same place (RV. I-22-17), but he simply says :

Bhuvi khe divi ca ity eke.

This shows that Mādhava may have based his statement on Skandasvāmin.

One thing is certain. Skandasvāmin and Mādhava had direct access to the work of Śākapūṇi, independent of any tradition preserved in Yāska or in Bṛhaddevatā. In the case of all other Niruktakāras and other authors referred to by Yāska or in Bṛhaddevatā, all reference in later works are based on the tradition preserved in Yāska or in Bṛhaddevatā. But in the case of Śākapūṇi, his work had been preserved till a later date and it is likely that a manuscript of his work may come to light one day.

7. Adyar Library XIX, L.521. See also Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. V p. 316 ff.

Jainism and Advaita Vedanta

By

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The object of this short paper is to draw attention to some striking similarities in thought and expression between the Pravacana-sāra of Kunda-Kunda Ācārya and the leading texts of Advaita Vedānta, particularly the Brahmasūtrābhāṣya of Śaṅkara. The task of assessing the significance of these similarities for the history of Indian philosophic thought, I must leave to more competent hands. The resemblances themselves struck me as remarkable when I had occasion to study the Pravacana-sāra recently, and I think it may be useful to state briefly the points I have noticed.

Kunda-Kunda lived and wrote certainly before 600 A.D., perhaps about 250 A.D.,[1] and Amṛta-candra, the author of the *Tattva-Dīpikā,* the commentary on the *Pravacana-sāra,* has been placed at the beginning of the tenth century with good reason.[2] It is thus clear that Kunda-Kunda was pre-Śaṅkara while his annotator came after the great Advaita-ācārya.

Kunda-Kunda holds that knowledge gained through the senses is not *pratyakṣa* and says :

परदव्वं ते अक्खा णेव सहावोत्ति अप्पणो भणिदा ।
उवलद्धं तेहि कहं पच्चक्खं अप्पणो होदि ॥ I. 57.

The reason assigned in the first half of this verse is noteworthy from the standpoint of this paper. Again he identifies *kevala-jñāna* with joy, a state in which everything undesirable is destroyed and everything desirable is attained (I, 61.). The one quality common to all things is *sattā,* says Kunda-Kunda in *gathā* II, 5—

इह विविहलक्खणाणं लक्खणमेगं सदिति सव्वगयम् ।

1. Faddegon and Thomas, Pravacana-sāra, pp. xiii—xiv.
2. Ibid. p. XXXIV.

And who will not think of Śaṅkara on Gītā II, 16 when reading this ? This again is how Kunda-Kunda defines the self much in the spirit of the Upaniṣadic line of thought—*neti netyātmā*. He says :

णाहं देहो ण मणो ण चेव वाणी ण कारणं तेसिं ।
कत्ता ण कारयिदा अणुमत्ता णेव कत्तीणं ॥ II. 68.

Lastly, I may cite the definition of the Śramaṇa which runs close to the Gītā ideal of the yōgī :

इह लोग णिरावेक्खो अप्पडिवद्धो परम्मि लोयम्मि ।
जुत्ताहारविहारो रहिदकसायो हवे समणो ॥

If we turn to the commentary, *Tattva-Dīpikā*, it seems clear that many categories of advaitic thought, particularly in the form in which Śaṅkara gave expression to them have directly influenced the thought and expression of Amṛta-candra-sūri at various points. Without claiming to be exhaustive, I may invite attention to the following references and citations, using the numbering of the Gathās of the text of *Kunda-Kunda* to facilitate reference to the commentary :

I, 34 : सा च (ज्ञप्तिः) केवलिनः श्रुतकेवलिनश्चात्मसंचेतने तुल्यैवेति नास्ति ज्ञानस्य श्रुतोपाधिभेदः with which cf. Śaṅkara on अथ in Br. S. I. 1. 1. I, 35 : न तु यथा पृथग्वर्तिना दात्रेण लावको भवति देवदत्तस्तथा ज्ञापको भवत्यात्मा ।

I, 58 : Definition of Mahāpratyakṣa, followed by the statement :
इह हि सहजसौख्यसाधनीभूतमिदमेव महाप्रत्यक्षमभिप्रेतम् ।

I, 60 : महामोहोत्पादकत्वादुन्मत्तकवदतस्मिंस्तद्बुद्धिमाधाय with which cf. Śaṅkara : अध्यासो नाम अतस्मिंस्तद्बुद्धिरित्यवोचाम (I, 1, 1, Br. S.).

The whole sentence from which this clause comes reads as follows : घातिकर्माणि हि महामोहोत्पादकत्वादुन्मत्तकवदतस्मिंस्तद्बुद्धिमाधाय परिच्छेद्यमर्थं प्रत्यात्मानं यतः परिणामयति ततस्तानि तस्य प्रत्यर्थं परिणम्य परिणम्य श्राम्यतः खेदनिदानतां प्रतिपद्यन्ते ।

I, 61, on the state of *kevala-jñāna* reads :

ततस्तद्धेतुकं सौख्यं अभेदविवक्षायां केवलस्य स्वरूपम् । किं च केवलं सौख्यमेव, सर्वानिष्टप्रहाणात् सर्वेष्टोपलम्भाच्च ।

which is, as already hinted, but a paraphrase of the gāthā of the original text.

I, 62. शिवश्रियो भाजनं is a phrase employed by the annotator of the *Samāsanna-bhavyas,* those qualified for immediate liberation.

I, 82 : नान्यद्धर्त्म निर्वाणस्य ।

I, 86 : The study of scripture is called शब्दब्रह्मोपासनम्।

I, 92 : The *avatārikā* of this *gathā* reads :

तदधुना कथं कथमपि शुद्धोपयोगप्रसादेन प्रसाध्य परनिस्पृहतामात्मतृप्तां पारमेश्वरीप्रवृत्तिमभ्युपगतः कृतकृत्यतामवाप्य नितान्तमनाकुलो भूत्वा प्रलीनभेदवासनोन्मेषः स्वयं साक्षाद्धर्म एवास्मीति अवतिष्ठते—

And in the comment on the *gāthā* we have :

यदयं स्वयं आत्मा धर्मो भवति स खलु मनोरथ एव । तस्य त्वेका बहिर्मोहदृष्टिरेव विहन्त्री । सा चागमकौशलेनात्मज्ञानेन च निहता नात्र मम पुनर्भावमापत्स्यते । ततो वीतरागचारित्रसूत्रितावतारो ममायमात्मा स्वयं धर्मो भूत्वा निरस्तसमस्तप्रत्यूहतया नित्यमेव निष्कम्प एवावतिष्ठते ।

II, 2 : The phrase सकलाविद्यानां एकमूलं and the discussion that follows.

II, 34 : इत्युच्छेदात्परपरिणतेः कर्तृकर्मादिभेद-
भ्रान्तिध्वंसादपि च सुचिराल्लब्धशुद्धात्मतत्त्वः ।
सञ्चिन्मात्रे महति विशदे मूर्छितश्चेतनोऽयं
स्थास्यद्युद्यत्सहजमहिमा सर्वदा मुक्त एव ॥

II, 53 : एवं शेषद्रव्याणि ज्ञयमेव, जीवद्रव्यं तु ज्ञेयं ज्ञानं चेति ज्ञानज्ञेयविभागः

II, 106 : Siddhi is सहजज्ञानानन्दस्वभाव ।

II, 107 : एक एव मोक्षस्य मार्गो न द्वितीय इति ।

II, 108 : स्फूर्यत्यात्मा ब्रह्म संपद्य सद्यः ।

Rīti

By

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The history of the concept of Rīti has three stages: first, when it was a living geographical mode of literary criticism; second, when it lost the geographical association and came to be stereotyped and standardised with reference to subject; and third, its re-interpretation by Kuntaka, the only Sanskrit Ālaṁkārika, who in his fine literary instinct and originality as evidenced on many other lines also, related the Rīti to the character of the poet and displaced the old Rītis by new ones.

Like national characteristics, there are also provincial characteristics in manners. These are studied by Bharata in the concept of Pravṛtti as part of the complete understanding of the world in its infinte variety, of which Nāṭya is an Anukāra. The concept of Pravṛtti in manners is Rīti in speech, in literature. Rīti is literary manner.[1] We first hear of it in Bāṇa. In the introductory verses at the beginning of his Harṣa carita, Bāṇa remarks that certain parts of the country produce literature marked by certain characteristics.

श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येष्वर्थमात्रकम् ।
उत्प्रेक्षा दाक्षिणात्येषु गौडेष्वक्षरडम्बरः ॥

There is no absurdity in such a geographical study; it is natural. With the Orient and of Ind in particular, the Western writers associate opulence, extravagance, colour, and exaggeration. These strike them as the eastern manner in life and literature. So also, Bāṇa, speaking of the different parts of this country, remarks that the northerners write nothing but double entendre, the westerners, the bare idea; the southerners roll in imaginative conceits while the Gauḍas (easterners) make a dis-

1. Rājaśekhara works out this relation between Pravṛtti and Rīti in his mythological manner in his Kāvya Puruṣa's marriage with Sāhityavidyā. K. M. Gaek. Edn. pp. 8-9.

play of wordy tumult.[2] But immediately Bāṇa thinks that the best writer combines all these four qualities *in the best manner.*

नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः ।
विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुर्लभम् ॥

The bare idea is stale but novelty of the idea makes it striking : *Navo'r-thaḥ.* The natural description of things as they are, Jāti, can be effective, if the description is not bald and ordinary, Grāmya. The Udīcyas' Śleṣa is welcome but it should be ' Akliṣṭa ', not forced. The Akṣaraḍambara of the Gauḍas has its own beauty but, all this has any beauty only if Rasa is transparent in the piece, *sphuṭo rasah.* It is very difficult to combine these virtues ; but when one achieves it, he is a great writer indeed. In these two verses, Bāṇa has spoken of four different

2. Bāṇa says in this verse that it is the westerners who write the bare idea with the least flourish. The bare idea, Arthamātra, has its opposite in Pallava. Bald idea is the flaw called Apuṣṭa and similarly, too much Pallava is a flaw at the other extreme. Beautiful Pallava, says Ratneśvara in his commentary on the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa (S. K. Ā.) II. p.157, is the essence of poetry. He quotes here two anonymous verses, according to which it is not the westerners (as said by Bāṇa) but the Northerners, Udīcyas, as contrasted with the Dākṣiṇātyas or Vaidarbhas, that give the bare idea.

"पल्लवप्रतिष्ठैव हि सरस्वती सहृदयानावर्जयति ।
वाक्यप्रतीतिमात्रार्थं उपात्तेषु पेदेषु यः ।
उपस्कारः पदैरन्यैः पल्लवं तं प्रचक्षते ॥
अपल्लवं तु यद्वाक्यं कविभ्यस्तन्न रोचते ।
प्रयुज्यते तथाभूतमुदीच्यैः कविगर्हितम् ॥"

The Vaidarbhas or Dākṣiṇātyas enrich their expressions. Excess of Pallava would however merit criticism at Bhāmaha's hands in the words 'विरुद्धपदमस्वर्यं बहुपूरणमाकुलम् and Mahimā would condemn it as Avakara. Ratneśvara refers only to the beautiful Pallava which keeps within limits as in the Vaidarbhas' expression. Ratneśvara considers the Vaidarbhas as experts fit to sit in judgment on this subject. दाक्षिणात्या वैदर्भीमाहुः । पारावरीणास्ते हि विशिष्टरीतिस्वरूपमवधारयितुं क्षमा इति । p. 28. S. K. Ā. Vyā. It is this vicious Pallava which has prolix words and little idea that Śrīharṣa describes as the poison of speech. Fewest words for the greatest effect is, in Śrīharṣa's view, the climax of style.

गरौ गिरः पल्लवन-अर्थलाघवे, मितं च सारं च वचो हि वाग्मिता ।
Naiṣadha, IX. 8.

styles, each definite and distinct, with its own emphasis on one particular feature, but has voted for casting away an over-emphasis on each of these four characteristics and for moderately and appropriately combining them into one good style which looks like the Niṣyanda of the four.

When we first have some record of the habits of literary criticism, we find the two names, Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī, characterising two styles of composition. The north and the west of the verse of Bāṇa are lost. Two main distinguishable styles had stayed, the other two having lost their individuality. The Dākṣiṇātyas of Bāṇa are the representatives of the Vaidarbhī and his Gauḍas represent the Gauḍī style. We have it as a tradition in Sanskrit literature that the Vidarbha country is the home of grace and beauty. Bharata speaks of the beauty, Saukumārya, of the southerners in his Dākṣiṇātyā Pravṛtti.[3] Though most of the provinces in the south are included under Dākṣiṇātya, the chief place of the Kaviśikī vṛtti and the Dākṣiṇātya pravṛtti is Vidarbha. The conception of the Dākṣiṇātya composition as abounding in Utprekṣās found in Bāṇa had changed and the Vaidarbhas had developed a graceful style. The Gauḍas who were playing with sonorous sounds in Bāṇa's time developed their style on the same lines, with their love for Akṣaraḍambara embracing high-wrought ornate figures also. Thus in course of time, circles of literary critics, Kāvya Goṣṭhīs, discussed poems and writings in terms of the two Rītis, the Vaidarbhī and the Gauḍī. There was prevalent a dislike for the latter, since it abounded in excesses of sound effects and figure effects. In this time appear Bhāmaha's views on the two Rītis, disapproving of the method of criticism based on the two Rītis which called the Vaidarbha good and the Gauḍīya, bad. It must be accepted that the Vaidarbha had many graceful features, was simple and sweet with restraint in adornment, while the Gauḍīya which began as a style distinguished by ornament, overdid it and deteriorated. Bhāmaha said : one need not condemn the Gauḍī, nor praise the Vaidarbhī. They are two styles of writings, each characterised by certain distinguishing features. Provided the writings in either style have well

3. तत्र दाक्षिणात्या भवेत् बहुगीतनृत्तवाद्या कैशिकीप्राया चतुरमधुरललिताङ्गाभिनय
Bharata, N. S. p. 147. K. M. Edn.

Kuntaka refers to the natural sweetness of southern music.

न च दाक्षिणात्यगीतविषयसुस्वरतादिध्वनिरामणीयकवत् तस्य स्वाभाविकत्वं वक्तुं पार्यते।
p. 46. De's Edn. V. J.

cf. also the Vaidarbha vivāha nepathya referred to by Kālidāsa at the end of the Mālavikāgnimitra.

developed thought expressed in fine turns, not vulgar or insipid, and uninvolved, both are acceptable. Without these general features of good poetry, it will not be acceptable even if it is Vaidarbhī. If these good features are present, it is acceptable, no matter if it is Gauḍī. That is, Bhāmaha wants to end indiscreet literary criticism led as if by the nose by these two names, Vaidarbha and Gauḍīya. Both styles have features which can be overdone ; consequently both have their vicious counterparts. Thus the sweetness, simplicity and the unadornedness of the Vaidarbhī can easily deteriorate into cloying liquids and nasals, and bare idea of insipid ordinariness. This is what Bhāmaha says and is but a sane view :

अपुष्टार्थमवक्रोक्ति प्रसन्नमृजु कोमलम् ।
भिन्नं गेयमिवेदं (वैदर्भं) तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम् ॥
अलङ्कारवदग्राम्यं अर्थ्यं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।
गौडीयमपि साधीयः, वैदर्भमिति (मपि) नान्यथा ॥ I. 34-35.

The Vaidarbha need not adorn itself very much ; but a minimum of Vakratā is needed to avoid Grāmyatā. When one has to praise a thing, it is neither enough nor beautiful to simply say without adopting telling turns of expressions, '*very much*' etc. Says Bhāmaha :

न नितान्तादिमात्रेण जायते चारुता गिराम्[4] ।
वक्राभिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलङ्कृतिः ॥ I.36.

Thus, accepting the current habit of distinguishing writing into two styles, Bhāmaha would argue that both are acceptable if they do not overdo their distinguishing features and possess the more general and necessary virtues of all good composition. He points out the possibility of a good handling of the Gauḍī and similarly the possibility of a bad Vaidarbhī. He would not stress these two catchwords very much but would emphasise more the other features of greater importance which all good composition should have, viz., अलङ्कारवत्वं, अग्राम्यत्वं, अर्थ्यत्वं, न्यायत्वं and अनाकुलत्वम्. From this, we can now pass to consider the final position of Bhāmaha. As one who emphasises the above given features of all good

4. न नितान्तादिमात्रेण is not understood by D. T. Tatacharya Śiromaṇi, in his Sanskrit gloss on Bhāmaha called Udyānavṛtti. See p. 17.

किमिदं नितान्तादिमात्रेणेति । तन्न बुध्यामहे । पाठान्तरेण तु भाव्यम्!

Then he tries to give some explanation.

poetry, Bhāmaha does not propose to accept unthinkingly the differentiation of writing into Vaidarbha and Gauḍa at all. His is a double protest. First, it is against the partiality for the Vaidarbhī and the aversion for the Gauḍī. He says: a lay and gregarious world repeats what one has said, praises the Vaidarbhī and condemns the Gauḍī, even when the Gauḍī is good and has good idea, *sadartham api*. Thus pleading for the possibility of a good Gauḍī with the auxiliary argument of the possibility of a bad Vaidarbhī, Bhāmaha says that, personally, he would not attach much importance to the two names Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī. As one who cares for the greater virtues of good poetry in general, he says that he accepts such composition as possessing those good qualities. He says that he cannot distinguish two styles and that such a thing is non-existent. But his opponents point out that, as for instance, the Kāvya (lost) called the *Aśmakavamśa* is Vaidarbhī. His reply is, " All right, call it whatever you please; one gives names as he pleases and that does not matter much. There is no special kind of poetry called Vaidarbhī. All poetic writing is accepted because it is adorned by Vakrokti or Svabhāvokti."

युक्तं वक्रस्वभावोक्त्या सर्वमेवैतदिष्यते ॥
वैदर्भमन्यदस्तीति मन्यन्ते सुधियोऽपरे ।
तदेव च किल ज्यायः सदर्थमपि नापरम् ॥
गौडीयमिदमेतत्तु वैदर्भमिति किं पृथक् ।
गतानुगतिकन्यायात् नानाख्येयममेधसाम् ॥
ननु चाश्मकवंशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते ।
कामं तथास्तु प्रायेण संज्ञेच्छातो विधीयते ॥ I. 30-33.

From these verses of Bhāmaha on the two styles, we can gather that in his time, some writers had held the Vaidarbhī as the better style and the Gauḍī as the worse. Of the Vaidarbhī also we glean that अनतिपोष, अनतिवक्रोक्ति, प्रसाद, आर्जव, कोमलत्व and श्रुतिपलेशलत्व were considered by those writers as the distinguishing features. Vide śl. 34. If these ideas are struck to too much, Vaidarbhī deteriorates: If the Artha is entirely Apuṣṭa, Avakra and Prasanna, it is insipid as ordinary talk. If it is very much addicted to the habit of giving a sense of sweetness to the ear alone, it is only like some song, heard and forgotten. Says Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his Śivalīlārṇava:

कर्णे गतं शुष्यति कर्ण एव सङ्गीतकं सैकतवारिरीत्या ॥ Canto I. 17.
गायन्ति वीणा अपि वेणवोऽपि जानन्ति बालाः पशवोऽपि चेदम् ॥ Canto I. 14.

In a similar manner we can also glean from Bhāmaha's remarks what features were attributed by writers of his time to the Gauḍī, by writers who condemned it. These features can be gathered from verse 35 and they are Atyalaṁkāra, Ākulatva, etc. The Gauḍī they condemned had too much Akṣaraḍambara and was Ākula, at the sacrifice of idea, Anarthya. This current of criticism against the Gauḍī flowed for ever, despite Bhāmaha's efforts to stop it. The good Gauḍī envisaged by Bhāmaha was however not demonstrated, in all probability, by the representatives of the Gauḍī and so the Gauḍī came to mean a bad style, with excess of Śabda and Artha Alaṁkāra, poor in idea, hyperbolic and involved in expression. It is this Gauḍī that is the anti-hero in the first paricheda of the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍīn. By this time, the name had not yet become non-geographical ; for Daṇḍin often refers only to the people of the east and the south, while referring to the two styles and not, like later writers, to the stereotyped types of style without any geographical significance.

It is often said that Daṇḍin represents a school called the 'Guṇa school.' In Bhāmaha, at the beginning of chapter II, we find three Guṇas, Prasāda, Mādhurya and Ojās, the former two going together as features of an Asamāsa saṁghaṭanā and the third, standing against both Prasāda and Mādhurya, as the Guṇa of Dīrgha samāsa saṁghaṭanā. While speaking of the two Mārgas, Bhāmaha mentions Komalatva, Śruti peśalatva, and Prasannatva regarding the Vaidarbhī ; and while commending the good Gauḍī says that it must be Anākula, which means that there must not be very long compounds. Besides this implied and traceable connection between the Guṇas and the two Mārgas, there is no definite mention, in Bhāmaha, of Guṇas as the constituting elements of a Mārga. Daṇḍin expounds in the first chapter the Vaidarbha Mārga which was considered the best style. It was so considered because of the presence in it of ten Guṇas which constitute its life. Daṇḍin *generally* says that the reverses of these ten Guṇas are seen in the Gauḍī which means bad poetry. A critical examination of these ten Guṇas has been made elsewhere by the present writer. Suffice it here to point out that some Guṇas are given by Daṇḍin himself as excellences of both Mārgas.

Daṇḍin mentions the ten Guṇas as the life not of poetry as such, but of the style called Vaidarbhī. If, on the basis of Daṇḍin's formulation of Guṇas, one says that he belongs to the Guṇa school, one can as well say that Daṇḍin belongs to the Rīti school. Really Daṇḍin belongs to the Alaṁkāra school, much more than Bhāmaha. For, to Daṇḍin, Guṇas, Rasas, Sandhyaṅga, Vṛttyaṅga, Lakṣaṇa,—all are Alaṁkāra. Apart from the word poetry, there is only one word for

Daṇḍin, viz., Alaṁkāra. The full development of Daṇḍin is seen in two directions in Bhoja and Kuntaka.

In poetic expression there is always a finally analysable scheme of two definite styles, the simple and the grandiloquent, the plain and the elevated, the unadorned and the figurative. In the former, natural description of emotion, men and things is given with minimum artificial decoration. Svabhāvokti and Rasokti, to borrow Bhoja's classification, predominate in it. Colour, ornament,—Vakrokti dominates the latter. These two correspond to Daṇḍin's two styles; only the Gauḍī is Vakrokti run riot. Kuntaka's Sukumāra Mārga belongs to the former class which emphasises Vakrokti less. Kuntaka's Vicitra mārga marks an emphasis on the Vaicitrya that Vakrokti imparts. Aristotle also gives only two styles, the good and the bad, the good being so by any sort of virtue, i.e., good not only because of virtues of simplicity, elegance. etc., but by virtues of vigour, etc., also. His bad style is the frigid style, resembling exactly Daṇḍin's Gauḍī, a style which overshoots. The plain and elegant style of Demetrius corresponds to the Vaidarbhī of Daṇḍin and the Sukumāra of Kuntaka. The elevated and the forcible of Demetrius resembles the Vicitra Mārga of Kuntaka and the good Gauḍī envisaged by Bhāmaha.

It is being said that what we call Rīti is not anything similar to what is called in English 'Style.' Dr. S. K. De says in his Skr. Poetics, II, p.115: "It should be observed that the term Rīti is hardly equivalent to the English word style, by which it is often rendered, but in which there is always a distinct subjective valuation." Again on p.116: "But, at the same time, the Rīti is not, like the style, the expression of poetic individuality as is generally understood by western criticism, but it is merely the outward presentation of its beauty called forth by a harmonious combination of more or less fixed 'literary excellences'." The word 'style' in English is not easily felt to be equivalent to the Sanskrit Rīti mainly on two grounds: i. It is said that while the English Style is all-comprehensive, the Sanskrit Rīti comprises only a fixed set of Guṇas. ii. Rītis as expounded by Sanskrit theorists are only two or three or four or six, and are related to certain kinds of subjects or themes whereas the English Style is related to the author's character. It is proposed to make plain in the course of this study of Rīti that it is neither impossible nor incorrect to render Rīti by the English word Style, that Rīti comprehends not only Guṇas, but Alaṁkāras and Rasas also, that Rītis are not so few as two or six but really as infinite as poets and that at least one or two Ālaṁkārikas and poets have related Rīti to the poet. It shall also be shown that there are always two conceptions of Rīti, a higher and a larger one and a lower and a narrower one,

a subjective one and an objective one, in relation to the poet and in relation to theme ; and that this is true of the English Style also, as can be seen from its history in western literary criticism from Aristotle downwards. Actually, certain western writers find it not only possible but quite sensible and useful too to not only classify style into a certain number of styles but also to relate these classified and standardized styles to subject or theme.

As observed above, though Bhāmaha does not definitely give in so many words the relation of Guṇas and Rīti, we can clearly see that his verses imply the theory of Rīti as based on the Guṇas. For he speaks of Komalatva, Prasannatva and Śrutipeśalatva regarding the Vaidarbhī. But Bhāmaha does not stop here. He speaks further of Arthapoṣa, Vakrokti, Arthyatva, Nyāyyatva and Anākulatva as features of a style of acceptable poetry. Certainly these are comprehensive features and stand for the very complete manner of writing. When we analyse Daṇḍin, we see that not only Guṇas but Alaṁkāras also go to distinguish the Rītis. He says that the Gauḍa mārga is characterised by Anuprāsa which is a Śabdālaṁkāra. The flaw of Śaithilya, the reverse[5] of the Śleṣa of the Vaidarbhī, is a result of Anuprāsa.

अनुप्रासधिया गौडैस्तदिष्टं बन्धगौरवात् । I. 44.

Again, speaking of the reverse of the Guṇa called Samatā, in Gauḍa mārga, Daṇḍin says :

इत्यनालोच्य वैषम्यमर्थालङ्कारडम्बरम् ।
अवेक्षमाणा ववृधे पौरस्त्या काव्यपद्धतिः ॥ I. 50.

Mādhurya involves Śrutyanuprāsa.

तद्रूपा हि पदासत्तिः सानुप्रासा रसावहा । I. 52.

Anuprāsa in its Ulbaṇa varieties is specialised in by the Gauḍas.

इदीदं नाद्दतं गौडैरनुप्रासस्तु तत्प्रियः । I. 54.

As a matter of fact, Daṇḍin treats of the Śabdālaṁkāras only here. He treats of the Anuprāsa here and leaves the Yamaka for the third chap-

5. In his article on the Gauḍī Rīti in theory and practice in I.H.Q., III, 1927, Mr. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya translates 'Viparyaya' as misconception about or misapplication of the essentials of style. Dr. S. K. De, Skr. Poe. II. p. 100 : "The ten guṇas are *non-existent* in the Gauḍa." This latter statement is wrong. This has been shown by me in a separate paper on Guṇas, yet unpublished.

ter. The only difference is that the Anuprāsas of the Vaidarbhas are mild while those of the Gauḍas are wild.

इत्यनुप्रासमिच्छन्ति नातिदूरान्तरश्रुतिम् ।
न तु रामामुखाम्भोजसदृशश्चन्द्रमा इति ॥ I. 58.

* * * *

इत्यादि बन्धपारुष्यं शैथिल्यं च नियच्छति ।
अतो नैनमनुप्रासं दाक्षिणात्याः प्रयुञ्जते ॥ I. 60.

The Guṇa called Udāra is no feature of the collocation like Śleṣa. It relates to thought and the mode of its expression. When a noble and exalted description suggests a noble and exalted quality of the described person or object, it is called Udāra Guṇa. This way of saying so as to make a thing intended to be said deliver itself by implication or suggestion—

उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिद्यस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते ।

is something beyond Guṇa and Alaṁkāra. Nor is the second variety of Udāra—Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇa,—on a par with Śleṣa. The Guṇa of Kānti is similarly of a superior nature. It refers to that method of expression wherein the author shows restraint and moderation and avoids hyperboles. The Gauḍas, on the other hand, love hyperboles.

इदमत्युक्तिरित्युक्तमेतद्गौडोपलालितम् I. 92.

Similarly Samādhi Guṇa brings in its train Samāsokti Alaṁkāra. Thus, an examination of Daṇḍin shows that the Mārgas are characterised not merely by a set of fixed features which pertain to collocation alone. The Guṇas mean much more than what they seem to. The Guṇas themselves must be clearly understood. Rīti cannot be demeaned by simply saying that it is called forth by a set of more or less fixed literary excellences.

Vāmana began grandly by declaring Rīti as the soul of poetry. He however defined Rīti as Padaracanā, i.e., Śabdārtharacanā but qualified it with the word Viśiṣṭa. Vāmana is the first writer to give a classification of Guṇas into those of Śabda and those of Artha. The mere excellences of Bandha are Śabda guṇas ; Rīti there is at its lower level. The Arthaguṇas lift up Rīti to the higher position. The Arthaguṇas are comprehensive and reach up to Rasa. The Arthaguṇa Ojas, Prauḍhi of various kinds, Mādhurya which is Uktivaicitrya, Śleṣa which is Ghaṭanā of various kinds, Kānti which is brilliancy of Rasas—these comprehend

poetic expression in all aspects. Vāmana himself emphasises the Artha-guṇas :

सापीयमर्थगुणसंपद् वैदर्भीत्युच्यते । तस्यां अर्थगुणसंपदास्वाद्या ॥ I. 2.

Thus these so-called Guṇas comprehend Bandhaguṇas, Alaṁkāras and Rasas. Demetrius while describing each style gave each certain Bandhaguṇas, certain kinds of Alaṁkāras and certain emotional features also.

Vāmana defined his Guṇas in such a way as to enable us to take them as characterising the best style of poetry. Guṇas pertaining to another Mārga alone were not brought in by him to confuse. So, he could define the Vaidarbhī as the best style by reason of the fullness of all these Guṇas in it, *Guṇa sākalya*. So it is that he says that Pāka or maturity in Kāvya is the Sphuṭatva and Sākalya of these Guṇas.

This view Vāmana could hold by changing the meaning of some Guṇas. To the two Rītis, Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī, Vāmana first added a third, the Pāñcālī, another intriguing geographical name. The Gauḍī in Vāmana is not the bad style in Daṇḍin. It is a good style in which all the Guṇas of the Vaidarbhī are present ; only it sheds some sweetness and delicateness and attains vigour and forcefulness. The Mādhurya and Saukumārya of the Vaidarbhī are replaced by Samāsabhāhulya and Ulbaṇapadas, with a greater degree of Ojas and Kānti. The Pāñcālī is the Vaidarbhī devoid of Ojas and Kānti.[6] Of these three, Vāmana asks poets to practice and achieve the Vaidarbhī style of poetry.

तासां पूर्वा ग्राह्या, गुणसाकल्यात् , न पुनरितरे स्तोकगुणत्वात् । I. 2. 14-18.

From the three Rītis in Vāmana, we pass to the four in Rudraṭa. Rudraṭa mentions the Vaidarbhī and the Pāñcālī with a certain kinship which is found even in Vāmana. Rudraṭa however adds a fourth style to go along with the Gauḍīya. This new fourth Rīti is the Lāṭīya, another geographical name. The four are thus given in two sets and are, for the first time definitely dissociated from any poets of any parts of the country which their names refer to. Rudraṭa relates them to the theme :

वैदर्भीपाञ्चाल्यौ प्रेयसि करुणे भयानकाद्भुतयोः ।
लाटीयागौडीये रौद्रे कुर्याद्यथौचित्यम् ॥

6. It is noteworthy how the Akṣaraḍambara of the Gauḍas mentioned by Bāṇa has not changed at all. समस्तात्युद्भटपदां***गौडीयामपि गायन्ति।—Vāmana.

While tracing the history of Rīti, we can clearly see how no writer ever missed the idea that the Vaidarbhī stood for a certain sweetness while the Gauḍī was characterised by force and vigour. When the geographical significance of the Vaidarbhas alone favouring sweetness and its allied guṇas and the Gauḍas alone practising Akṣaraḍambara, Ojas, etc., was lost, and all the Rītis were practised by all poets of all places, the sweetness of the one and the vigour of the other were thought of in connection with the theme by the same poet who commanded both ways of writing. Viṣaya-aucitya began to regulate the nature of Rīti in the several parts of a poem. The Rasas and the Artha pertaining thereto have their own quality of sweetness, vigour, etc. These have been studied by Bharata and by others following him in the concept of Vṛtti. The Vṛtti was applied from Drama to poetry.[7] Kaiśikī is the Vṛtti of Śṛṅgāra and Ārabhaṭī of Raudra, Vīra, Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa Rasas. To this Vṛtti, the Rīti came to be related. The sweetness and delicateness associated with the Vaidarbhī made it possible to link it to the Kaśikī Vṛtti and the Śṛṅgāra Rasa. Śṛṅgāra, Kaśikī Vṛtti and the Vaidarbhī rīti went together always. The Gauḍī easily linked itself to Ārabhaṭi Vṛttī and Rasas like Raudra. The Pāñcālī and the Lāṭīya occupied middling positions, the former leaning more to the Vaidarbhī and the latter more to the Gauḍī. Thus the emotional mood determines the mode of expression. Hence Bhoja treats of Rītis and Vṛttis under Anubhāva. The Vṛtti differs from Rīti as more intimately connected with Rasa and its ideas. To the Rasa, Rīti was related on the basis of the verbal expression, the Śabadsaṅghaṭanā. In this stage, the Guṇas, Mādhurya, etc., which were still the constituents of Rīti, became mere Sanghaṭanādharmas. We find the Locana saying while stating the Pūrvapakṣa :

" तच्छब्देनात्र माधुर्यादयो गुणाः । तेषां च समुचितवृत्त्यर्पणे यदन्योन्यमेलनक्षमत्वेन पानक इव गुडमरीचादिरसानां सङ्घातरूपतागमनं दीप्त-ललित-मध्य-वर्णणाविषयं गौडीय-वैदर्भ-पाञ्चालदेशहेवाकप्राचुर्यदृशा तदेव त्रिविधं रीतिरित्युक्तम् ।" P. 6.

As Ānandavardhana says, expression appropriate to Rasa is Vṛtti ; the expression of Artha is the Vṛtti of Kaiśikī etc. ; the expression of Śabda is the Vṛtti of Upanāgarikā etc. These Upanāgarikā etc. are the Rītis.

रसाद्यनुगुणत्वेन व्यवहारोऽर्थशब्दयोः ।
औचित्यवान्यस्ता एव वृत्तयो द्विविधास्स्थिताः ॥ III. 33.

7. Vide my article on the Vṛttis, J.O.R., Madras, Vol. VII. pp. 104-112.

"तत्र रसानुगुणः औचित्यवान् वाच्याश्रयो व्यवहारः, ता एव कैशिक्याद्या वृत्तयः । वाचकाश्रयाश्च उपनागरिकाद्याः ।" *ibid*, Vṛtti.

शब्दतत्त्वाश्रयाः काश्चित् अर्थतत्त्वयुजोऽपराः ।
वृत्तयोऽपि प्रकाशन्ते ज्ञातेऽस्मिन्काव्यलक्षणे ॥ III. 53.

Mammaṭa says under Anuprāsa jātis :

माधुर्यव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णैः उपनागरिकेष्यते ।
ओजःप्रकाशकैस्तैस्तु परुषा,-कोमला परैः ॥ IX. 3. K. Pra.

एतास्तिस्रो वृत्तयः (उपनागरिका, परुषा, कोमला च) वामनादीनां मते वैदर्भीगौडीयापाञ्चालयाख्या रीतय उच्यन्ते । *ibid*, Vṛtti.

Śiṅgabhūpāla defines Rīti as Pada-vinyāsa-bhaṅgī, has three Rītis Komalā, Kaṭhinā and Miśrā, other names of Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī, and Pāñcālī. A late work called Śṛṅgārasāra (Madras Ms.) follows Śiṅgabhūpāla completely, defines Rīti as Padavinyāsabhaṅgī, accepts three varieties of it, Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī, which it calls Komalā, Kaṭhinā and Miśrā.

Rājaśekhara's main chapter, the third, on Rīti, called Rītinirṇaya, is lost. Still we gather some of his ideas on Rīti in his description of the legendary Kāvyapuruṣa's Avatāra in the beginning of his Kāvya Mīmāmsā, as also from his dramas. In his K. M., Rājaśekhara speaks of three Rītis in the description of which he introduces a new distinguishing feature, viz., the use of Yogavṛtti in abundance, the same to a less extent, and the use of Upacāra. These are the features Rājaśekhara attributes to the three[8] :

Gauḍī	Pāñcālī	Vaidarbhī
समास	ईषदसमास	असमास
अनुप्रास	ईषदनुप्रास	स्थानानुप्रास
योगवृत्तिपरंपरा	उपचार	योगवृत्ति

These three Rītis, Rājaśekhara relates to the Deśas whose names they bear. He considers Vaidarbhī as the best form of poetic style. For he says that when the spouse of Sāhityavidyā spoke to the Kāvyapuruṣa in Gauḍa style, he was absolutely indifferent ; when she talked in the Pāñcālī style, he was only Īṣadvaśamvadikṛta ; but when both reached

8. Vide my article on Rīti and Guṇa in the Agni Purāṇa in I.H.Q. X. iv. 767-779.

the Dakṣiṇadeśa and she spoke in the Vaidarbhī, he became Atyartham vaśamvada. Rājaśekhara pays his tribute to Vaidarbhī poetry by making the Kāvyapuruṣa and Sāhityavidyā celebrate their nuptials in the capital of the Vidarbhas, Vatsagulma.

तत्रास्ति मनोजन्मनो देवस्य क्रीडावासो विदर्भेषु वत्सगुल्मं नाम नगरम् । तत्र सारस्वतेयस्तामौमेयीं गन्धर्ववत्परिणिनाय ।

In the Maṅgalaśloka to his Karpūramañjarī, Rājaśekhara speaks of three Rītis, Vacchomī, Māgadhī and Pāñcālī. This Vacchomī is the Prākṛt form[9] of Vātsagulmī, a name for Vaidarbhī given after the capital of the Vidarbhas, Vatsagulma. Why the Gauḍī has been substituted here by the Māgadhī is not known.

In his Bālarāmāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara speaks of the Vaidarbhī twice. In Act III, he says that the quality of Mādhurya is supreme in the Vaidarbhī and in Act X, that the Vaidarbhī is characterised by Mādhurya and Prasāda and that Rasa is dominant in it.

(*a*) वाग्वैदर्भी मधुरिमगुणं स्यन्दते श्रोत्रलेह्यम् । Act. III.

(*b*) कथमयं क्रथकैशिकाधिपतिः—

वाग्देवता वसति यत्र रसप्रसूतिः लीलापदं भगवतो मदनस्य यच्च।
प्रेङ्खद्विदग्धवनिताञ्चितराजमार्गं तत्कुण्डिनं नगरमेष विभुर्बिभर्ति॥

(*c*) यत्क्षेमं त्रिदिवाय वर्त्म, निगमस्याङ्गं च यत्सप्तमं,
स्वादिष्ठं च यदैक्षवादपि रसात्, चक्षुश्च यद्वाङ्मयम् ।
तद्यस्मिन्मधुरं प्रसादि रसवत् कान्तं[10] च काव्यामृतं
सोऽयं सुभ्रु पुरो विदर्भविषयः सारस्वतीजन्मभूः ॥ Act. X.

Dhanapāla (First half of the 11th Cent.) says in his Tilakamāñjarī

वैदर्भीमिव रीतीनां * * अधिकमुद्भासमानाम् ।

Śrīharṣa says in his Naiṣadha :

धन्याऽसि वैदर्भि गुणैरुदारैः ।

9. Instead of thus deriving Vacchomī meaning Vaidarbhī from Vātsagulmī, Vāsudeva, author of the commentary on the Karpūramañjarī says :

छइच्छवच्छोमीशब्दौ 'दाढादयो बहुलम्' इति विदग्धवैदर्भीशब्दयोस्साधू ।

P. 3. K. M. Edn.

10. It is not known if by this word Kānta Rājaśekhara means the guṇa Kānti in Daṇḍin or uses it only generally.

Again :

गुणानामास्थानीं नृपतिलकनारीति विदितां
रसस्फीतामन्तः तव च तव वृत्ते च कवितुः ।
भवित्री वैदर्भीमधिकमधिकण्ठं रचयितुं
परीरम्भक्रीडाचरणशरणामन्वहमयम् ॥ XIV. 91.

Poet Nīlakaṇṭhadīkṣita waxes eloquent upon Vaidarbhī and its country in his Nalacarita Nāṭaka, Act III :

सरस्वती—सन्त्वज्ञाः सन्तु बुधाः सन्तु पुमांसः स्त्रियश्च वा सन्तु ।
स स रसिकः कविरधुना जज्ञे यो यो जनो विदर्भेषु॥
सावित्री—प्रागेव खलु ते विदर्भा इत्येव हृदयं प्रकृष्टमुत्कण्ठते । किं पुनरनुमताया इव भगवतापि । यत्र सा वैदर्भी रीतिः ।
आदिस्स्वादुषु या, परा कवयतां काष्ठा यदारोहणे
या ते निश्श्वसितं, नवापि च रसा यत्र स्वदन्तेतराम् ।
पाञ्चालीति परंपरापरिचितो वादः कवीनं परं
वैदर्भी यदि सैव वाचि किमितः स्वर्गेऽपवर्गेऽपि वा ॥

To return to Rājaśekhara, he has the following additional remarks about the literary habits of the poets of different places :

"तत्र दयितसुब्वृत्तयो विदर्भाः । वल्लभसमासवृत्तयो गौडाः । प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः । कृत्प्रयोगरूचय उदीच्याः । अभीष्टतिब्वृत्तयस्सर्वेऽपि सन्तः ।"

Kāvyamīmāmsā, p. 22.

The basis of each of these statements is not exactly known. We know only that the Gauḍas loved Samāsa from Daṇḍin and that the remark about the Dākṣiṇātyas' love for Taddhita is borrowed from Patañjali. Further, we do not exactly know what Rājaśekhara means by mentioning separately Vaidarbhas and Dākṣiṇātyas. Perhaps, the latter are people further south or those in the south other than the Vaidarbhas.

In a verse on the poet Bāṇa and the poetess Śīlābhaṭṭārikā, Rājaśekhara gives a new definition of the Pāñcālī, the basis for which is also not known. He says in it that the Pāñcālī is the style in which Śabda and Artha are evenly matched.

शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुंफः पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥

In Act X of the Bālarāmāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara ascribes a peculiar style to Mithilā. Thus he speaks of a Maithilī style :

यत्रार्थातिशयोऽपि सूत्रितजगन्मर्यादया मोदते
सन्दर्भश्च समासमासलवदप्रस्तारविस्तारितः ।
उक्तिर्योगपरंपरापरिचिता काव्येषु चक्षुष्मतां
सा रम्या नवचंपकांगि भवतु त्वन्नेत्रयोः प्रीतये ॥

The Maithilī is here said to be characterised by three qualities :

(*i*) अर्थातिशयेऽपि जगन्मर्यादानतिक्रमणम् i.e. avoiding Atyuktis or flat hyperboles. This is Daṇḍin's and Bhoja's Kānti of the Vaidarbhī :

कान्तं सर्वजगत्कान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमात् ।

(*ii*) This seems to be sparse use of compounds.

(*iii*) Yogaparamparā[11] which is given in his K. M. as characterising the Gauḍī.

The country of Mithilā is nowhere mentioned in connection with the Rītis, except perhaps by one writer, Śrīpāda quoted by Keśava in Alaṅkāraśekhara, who says that the Maithilī has, like the Vaidarbhī, few compounds.

तदेतत्पल्लवयन्ति श्रीपादाः—

गौडीसमाभूयस्त्वात् वैदर्भी च तदल्पतः ।
अनयोस्संकरो यस्तु मागधी सा (ना?) तिविस्तरा ॥
गौडीयैः प्रथमा, मध्या वैदर्भैः मैथिलैस्तथा ।
अन्यैस्तु चरमा रीतिः स्वभावादेव सेव्यते ॥

From this remark of Śrīpāda, we understand that the Maithilī is the Māgadhī, the Māgadhī which along with the Pāñcālī and the Vaidarbhī

11. Vide I.H.Q. Vol. X. IV. pp. 773-774. My article on Rīti and Guṇa in the Agni purāṇa. The use of the feature Yogavṛtti, Upacāra, etc. in distinguishing styles is found in Rājaśekhara, Bhoja, Agnipurāṇa and Bahurūpamiśra. The last says in his commentary on the Daśarūpaka (Mad. Ms.) : "एतासां चतसृणां च रीतीनां (1) समासतारतम्यात् (2) उपचारतारतम्यात् (3) बन्धसौकुमार्यादितारतम्यात् (4) अनुप्रासभेदात् (5) योगादिभेदाच्च परस्परभेद इत्यनुसन्धातव्यमिति।"

(Vacchomī) is mentioned by Rājaśekhara in his Maṅgalaśloka to the Karpūramañjarī. Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa gives an absurd definition of Māgadhī as a Khaṇḍarīti, formed when the Rīti begun is left off! पूर्वरीतेः अनिर्वाहे खण्डरीतिस्तु मागधी । This Māghadhī may or may not have been mentioned in the lost Rīti chapter of the Kāvyamīmāmsā. But in the available portion, Rājaśekhara accepts only three Rītis and they are the Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā and Pāñcālī. He says again on p. 31 of his K. M. :

"तन्मानुषमिति व्यपदिशन्ति । तच्च त्रिधा रीतित्रयभेदेन । तदाहुः—
"वैदर्भी गौडीया पाञ्चाली चेति रीतयस्तिस्रः ।
आसु च साक्षान्निवसति सरस्वती तेन लक्ष्यन्ते ॥"

Bhoja added two more Rītis to Rudraṭa's four, Āvantika and the Māgadhī. The latter, as found in Rājaśekhara, Śrīpāda and Bhoja, has been noticed already. It is only the Āvantī that is absolutely new. The classification and description of these in Bhoja (S. K. Ā.) are very mechanical, arbitrary and unreal. It seems to be idle to examine Bhoja's Lātīyā, Māgadhī and Āvantī. Why this complacent creation of geographical names is in fashion amongst these writers cannot be guessed.[12]

12. The following is a summary of the views of other minor writers on Rīti. The older Vāgbhaṭa accepts only the Vaidarbhī and the Gauḍī, one without any compounds and the other with compounds (K. M. Edn. p. 61). The younger Vāgbhaṭa recognises the three Rītis, Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā and Pāñcālī and defines them as dominated respectively by the three Guṇas, Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda. (p.31). Śiṅgabhūpāla (R.A.S.) accepts the Vai., the Gau., and the Pāñ. He borrows Daṇḍin for defining the Vaidarbhī; the two differences here are that he makes the 'Rasa' in Daṇḍin's मधुरं रसवद्वाचि, the 9 Rasas and takes the first case of Udāra as Dhvani. He calls the Vaidarbhī, Komalā; Gauḍī, Kaṭhinā; and the Pāñcālī, Miśra. Leaving the Miśra, he contrasts the other two; Komalā×Kaṭhinā; Asamāsa×Dīrghasamāsa; Prasāda × Asphuṭabandha; Aniṣṭhurākṣara×Niṣṭhurākṣara; Pṛthakpadatva×Granthilatva. Under Miśra Rītis, he recognises a Rīti for every province, Āndhrā, Lāṭī, Saurāṣṭrī, etc. (p. 69). The Camatkāracandrikā of Viśveśvara (Mad. Ms.) who wrote in Śiṅga's court casts away the old names, defines Rīti as Padaghaṭanā and gives four kinds of it, the only feature of differentiation accepted being Samāsa,—Asamāsa, Madhyasamāsa, Atidīrghasamāsa and Miśra. (p. 61. Mad. Ms.) This position corresponds to Rudraṭa's which distinguishes Rītis on Samāsa only, gives Vaidarbhī as the Rīti of the collocation free from compounds and gives three Rītis, Pāñcālī, Lāṭīyā and Gauḍīyā for the collocations with Laghu, Madhya and Āyata Samāsas. (II. 3-6). Vidyānatha considers Rīti as 'आत्मोत्कर्षावहस्वभाव' of the Kāvya. Tippabhūpāla, at the end of his commentary on Vāmana, considers Rīti as the lifebreath of poetry:

The treatment of style on the basis of theme is not absent in western criticism. Aristotle says that style should vary and thus be in accordance with emotion. "But the style expressive of feeling, suppose the case be one of assault in the style of a man in passion ; — " " A style of exultation for praise ; a style with submission if in pity." "But *compound words* and plurality of epithets and foreign idioms are appropriate chiefly to one who speaks under the excitement of some passion : — ." This style of a man in passion and a situation of assault, in which Aristotle mentions compound words as proper is an Ojas-dominated Rīti, like Daṇḍin's Gauḍī, Samāsabhūyiṣṭha. Aristotle says elsewhere that " of various kinds of words, the compounds are best adapted to dithyrambs," which are hymns to Bacchus, the wine-god, enthusiastic, wild and boisterous. Samāsa gives the necessary Ojas to such a style.

Speaking of the style called 'the Elevated', Demetrius says that there are certain subjects with the quality of elevation to which that style is thence suited. Such are subjects like scenes of battle. Surely these cannot be treated in the styles called 'the Plain' and 'the Elegant'. They must be rendered in the styles called 'the Elevated' and 'the Forcible'. Demetrius speaks of the Varṇadhwani of Ānanda in this connection, of how Śrutiduṣṭa, Śa, Ṣa, Ra, etc., is promotive of Raudra rasa. Demetrius remarks that though *violence* (Śrutiduṣṭa) is a fault of composition, it is a necessary feature of the Forcible style, since " words hard

असवो रीतयः p. 193. V. V. Edn. The only later writer, who still called Rīti the Ātman of poetry following Vāmana, even when Rasa and Dhvani were ruling for long, is Amṛtānandayogin who says: रीतिरात्माऽत्र ch. 5. Alaṁkāra Samgraha. This author treats of Rasa and Dhvani also. Keilhorn's Central Provinces' Catalogue, p.104, mentions a work called " Rīti vṛtti lakṣaṇa " by Viṭṭhaleśvara or Viṭṭhaladīkṣita, which would appear to be the only post-Ānanda work devoted exclusively to a consideration of Rīti along with the allied Vṛtti. But this tract must have dealt with Rīti and Vṛtti only as accepted in the scheme of Rasa and Dhvani.

Simhadevagaṇi, commentator on the Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra, speaks in three verses at the end of his commentary of Lāṭī (Hāsya), Pāñcālī (Karuṇa and Bhayānaka), Māgadhī (Śānta), Gauḍī (Vīra and Raudra), Vacchomī (Bībhatsa and Adbhuta) and Vaidarbhī (Śṛṅgāra). We do not know how Vacchomī is different from Vaidarbhī and how Vacchomī is suited to Bībatsa and Adbhuta. In the next verse he gives, following Rudraṭa, the Pāñcālī as having two or three words in a compound, Lāṭī five or seven and Gauḍī as many words as possible in a compound. The last verse is very puzzling :— प्रथमपदा वत्सोमी त्रिसमपदा च मागधी भवति । उभयोरपि वैदर्भी मुहुर्मुहुः भाषणं कुरुते ॥

to pronounce are forcible as uneven roads are forcible." Even as the Sanskrit Ālaṁkārikas speak of the Vaidarbhī for Śṛṅgāra rasa, Demetrius gives the Elegant as the style for elegant and graceful subjects like Śṛṅgāra. He says : " The materials of grace are the gardens of nymphs, etc., etc." One of the two deciding factors in 'the Grand style', M. Murry says, is the theme. The other factor is vocabulary. In connection with the theme, " the nature of the plot or muthos ", he observes that the Grand Style is adopted if superhuman or majestic figures are involved. " If the characters of the plot are superhuman and majestic, it seems more or less necessary that their manner of speech should differ from that of ordinary dramatic poetry by being more dignified—." (p. 140, Problem of Style.) " The poet heightens the speech of his superhuman characters in order that they may appear truly superhuman." (p. 141). This is clearly a case of theme being a Niyāmaka of Style, a case of standardised style, " *a technical poetic device for a particular end* " as Murry says of the Grand Style. Thus, the linking of style to theme is not absent in western criticism.

It is remarkable that there should be many points of similarity between western writers on the subject of Style and Sanskrit Ālaṁkārikas. M. Murry says in his *Problem of Style* : " In the course of the approach, I examined two qualities of style which are not infrequently put forward as essential, namely, *the musical suggestion of the rhythm* and the *visual suggestion of the imagery*, and I tried to show that these were subordinate. On the positive side, I tried to show that the essential quality of style was *precision* : that this precision was not intellectual, not a precision of definition, but of *emotional* suggestion..... " p. 95. The musical qualities of rhythm etc., in the word-structure come under Śabdaguṇa and Śabdālaṁkāra and the visual suggestion of imagery is Arthaguṇa and Arthālaṁkāra. These two, of the realm of Vācya vācaka, are but the means, the vehicle, i.e., subordinate as Murry says. The emotional suggestion of Murry is Rasadhvani and precision thereof is served by Rasaucitya. The second Madhurya of Daṇḍin, viz., Anuprāsa—वर्णावृत्तिरनुप्रासः पादेषु च पदेषु च । I. 55 यया कयाचिच्छ्त्या यत्॥ etc. corresponds to the fourth point mentioned by R. L. Stevenson in his essay on the Technical Elements of Style, viz., 'contents of the phrase.' He makes a detailed study and analysis and tabulates the consonantal sound effects of many passages. He gives this as a quality of a master of style. Daṇḍin says that when this Śrutyanuprāsa is left and Ulbaṇānuprāsa is resorted to by the Gauḍas, harshness, Bandhapārusya and another flaw, Śaithilya, result. The concatenation becomes hardly pronounceable—Kṛcchrodya.

शिथिलं मालतीमाला लोलालिकलिला यथा ।
अनुप्रासधिया गौडैस्तदिष्टं बन्धगौरवात् ॥
वैदर्भैर्मालतीदाम लङ्घितं भ्रमरैरिति । I. 43-44.
इत्यादिबन्धपारुष्यं शैथिल्यं च नियच्छति ।
अतो नैनमनुप्रासं दाक्षिणात्याः प्रयुञ्जते ॥ *ibid*, 60.
दीप्तमित्यपरैर्भूम्ना कृच्छ्रोद्यमपि बध्यते ।
न्यक्षेण क्षपितः पक्षः क्षत्रियाणां क्षणादिति ॥ *ibid*, 72.

Stevenson thus concludes his section on 'contents of the phrase': "To understand how constant is this pre-occupation of good writers, even where its results are least obstrusive, it is only necessary to turn to the bad. There indeed you will find cacaphony supreme, the rattle of incongrous consonants only relieved by jaw-breaking hiatus, and whole phrases not to be articulated by the powers of man." R. L. Stevenson speaks in this essay of his, of Samatā, Vaiṣamya, Prasāda and *Caville*, i.e., Anarthakapadas or Aprayojāka padas of Vāmana which hinder Prasāda (अर्थस्य वैमल्यं प्रयोजकमात्रपदपरिग्रहे प्रसादः III. iii. 3.) and Mahiman's Avakara. Ideas found in Pater's exposition of style also have correspondences with ideas on Guṇa, Alaṁkāra and Alaṁkāra-aucitya found in Sanskrit works. Schopenhauer has an essay on Authorship and Style, where, while dealing with the latter subject, he gives certain concrete good features of a good style of writing, judged to be good by reason of the presence of those features. According to him thoughts must get their clearest, finest and most powerful expression ; thus, three qualities are emphasised by him, clarity and beauty, the sum total of these two, the power. In clarity is comprehended chiefly the virtue of simplicity which means the expression of thoughts "as purely, clearly, definitely and concisely as ever possible." This is secured by use of words which are precise and which mean neither more nor less, which neither mean the thing vaguely nor mean something different. Grammatical precision and enough words are necessary. Clarity and grammar must not be sacrificed for the sake of brevity. Says Schopenhauer : "On the other hand one should never sacrifice clearness, to say nothing of grammar, for the sake of being brief .....And this is precisely what false brevity nowadays in vogue is trying to do, for writers not only leave out words that are to the purpose, but even grammatical and logical essentials." Compare Daṇḍin's Guṇa, Arthavyakti which he defines as Aneyārthatva. It is a grammatical and logical necessity. In its absence, in the absence of words grammatically and logically essential, we have the Doṣa called Neyārthatva.

अर्थव्यक्तिरनेयत्वमर्थस्य हरिणोद्धृता ।
भूः क्षुरक्षुण्णनागास्रग्लोहितादुदधेरिति ॥
नेदृशं बहुमन्यन्ते मार्गयोरुभयोरपि ।
न हि प्रतीतिस्सुभगा शब्दन्यायविलंघिनी ॥ K. A. I. 73-75.

Not saying what must be said, out of a mistaken sense of brevity, is a kind of 'Vācyāvacana' according to Mahimabhaṭṭa. Similarly, simplicity and precision are lost by expressing things and words which are unnecessary. This is Mahiman's Avācyavacana.

"इत्यत्र समासान्तर्गतेन वदनशब्देन एकेनैव वदने वाच्ये यद् बहुभिः शब्दैः तस्य वचनं, सोऽवाच्यवचनं दोषः ।"

These words are surplusage and are due to poverty of thought or an ambition to write a grand style. These merely fill so much of space still vacant in a verse, Pādapūraṇa. Schopenhauer says : "If words are piled up beyond this point they make the thought that is being communicated more and more obscure. To hit that point is the problem of style and a matter of discernment ; for every superfluous word prevents its purpose being carried out." This is exactly what Vāmana means by his Arthaguṇa Prasāda which is the use of words exactly sufficient for conveying the idea.

"अर्थवैमल्यं प्रसादः । अर्थस्य वैमल्यं प्रयोजकमात्रपदपरिग्रहे प्रसादः। यथा— 'सवर्णा कन्यका रूपयौवनारम्भशालिनी ।' विपर्ययस्तु 'उपास्तां हस्तो मे विमलमणिकाञ्चीपदमिदम्'। काञ्चीपदमित्यनेनैव नितंबस्य लक्षितत्वात् विशेषणस्य अप्रयोजकत्वमिति।"

III.ii.3. Other Sanskrit writers also have dealt with Aprayojaka epithets and words which do not nourish the idea but are mere verbiage affected for attaining a grandiose style and adopted to cover one's poverty of idea and imagination. For, these words, Mahiman calls अप्रतिभोद्भव and अवकर. To Mahiman, these out-of-place words are the literary Apaśabdas. "अस्मान् प्रति पुनः अविषये प्रयुज्यमानः शब्दः अपशब्द एव।" Schopenhauer condemns indefiniteness, vague words and enveloping trivial ideas in the most outlandish, artificial and rarest phrases. 'व्युत्पन्नमिति गौडीयैर्नातिरूढमपीष्यते' says Daṇḍin ; that Prasāda is the use of well-known words which easily give their sense; that as against this, certain writers think that they must look learned and, in the words of Schopenhauer, 'resent the idea of their work looking too simple' and resort to lexicographical rarities. Schopenhauer speaks of two styles, one good

and the other bad, the former being characterised mainly by simplicity, clarity and precision, and the latter by prolixity, vagueness and word-pomp. He seems to describe only Daṇḍin's Vaidarbhī and Gaudī. Of those who favour the latter, Schopenhauer says that they 'delight in bombast', that their writing is generally 'in a grand puffed up (Dīpta of Daṇḍin), unreal, hyperbolic (Daṇḍin's Atyukti, the reverse of the Saukumārya Guṇa) and acrobatic style.' (Prahelikāprāya says Bhāmaha). Daṇḍin condemns not only Ulbaṇa Anuprāsa (Śabdālaṁkāra) and Yamaka which is Duṣkara and 'Naikānta madura', but also Arthā laṁkāra ḍambara. He prefers delicateness, fineness and natural grace which give poetry a power which no rhetorical ornament can ever impart to it.

इत्यनूर्जित एवार्थः नालङ्कारोऽपि तादृशः ।
सुकुमारतयैवैतद् आरोहति सतां मनः ॥

Compare Schopenhauer: "An author should guard against using all unnecessary rhetorical adornment, all useless amplification, and in general, just as in architecture, he should guard against an excess of decoration, all superfluity of expression,—in other words, he should aim at chastity of style. Everything redundant has a harmful effect. The law of simplicity and naivete applies to all fine art, for it is compatible with what is most sublime."

It shall be considered now whether the linking of Rīti to the poet and his character and the idea of the infinity of Rīti is or is not present in Sanskrit Alaṁkāra literature. Aristotle described only one good style and its qualities and contrasted it with a bad style called the frigid which overdid ornamentation. He refuted also others who spoke of different styles such as the agreeable. He argued that there was no end when one began attributing to styles all sorts of ethical qualities like restraint, etc. An emphasis of the relation of style to the author makes it impossible to speak of style in general or define its features. Only a few concrete qualities related to the actual Śabdas, the Saṅghaṭanā, Padas and Varṇas, and to the theme can be considered while defining or classifying style. Thus, previous to Aristotle some had spoken of the Agreeable style. After Aristotle, some were speaking of three styles, Grave, Medium and Attenuate, to suit the threefold purpose of oratory, moving, pleasing and pleading. Just before Demetrius wrote, some held styles to be two, the Plain and the Elevated. Demetrius added two more, the Elegant and the Forcible. Plainness stood against elevation. A style is specially decorated for effect or is plain. From another point of view, styles can be classified into two, the Elegant (or graceful) and the Forcible. It is not one principle of classification that gives us these

four styles. The Plain may be elegant or forcible ; the elevation given to a style may be elegant or forcible. But naturally, plainness and elegance go together and so also elevation and force. The Plain and the Elegant of Demetrius are represented by Vaidarbhī in Sanskrit. The Elevated and the Forcible correspond to the good Gauḍī found envisaged in Bhāmaha, the Frigid and the affected styles in Demetrius being the bad Gauḍī in Daṇḍin. The two correspond to Sukumāra and the Vicitra Mārgas in Kuntaka. Saukumārya and Ojas—Plainness and Elegance, Elevation and Force—these finally give us two Rītis. Bhaṭṭa Nṛsimha, a commentator on Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa (Madras Ms.) says that of the Guṇas of Daṇḍin, two are important, Saukumārya and Ojas, as being Asādhāraṇa of the two Mārgas. "तेषु (गुणेषु) अत्र सौकुमार्यं ओजश्च द्वयोरप्यसाधारणः गुणः । इतरे तु प्रायशः साधारणाः । p. 11. Mad. Ms. This final analysis of style into two is neither impossible nor absurd. Treating of the Formal Element in Literature in Ch. IV. of his work 'Some Principles of Literary Criticism', Winchester has the following : " But while individuality is not to be classified, it may be said that there are, in general, two opposite tendencies in personal expression : on the one hand to clearness and precision ; on the other to largeness and profusion. The difference between the two may be seen by comparing such poetry as that of Mathew Arnold with that of Tennyson or such prose as that of Newman with that of Jeremy Taylor. Minds of one class insist on sharply divided ideas, on clearness of image, on temperance, and precision of epithet. Their style we characterise as chaste or classic. The other class have a great volume of thought, but less well-defined ; more fervour and less temperance of feeling, more abundant and vivid imagery, more wealth of colour, but less sharpness of definition. Their thoughts seem to move through a haze of emotion and often through a lush growth of imagery. They tend to be ornate and profuse in manner, eager in temper ; they often produce larger and deeper effects, but they lack restraint and suavity. It is a contrast not peculiar to literature, but running through all forms of art..... The one makes upon you the impression of greater delicacy, temperance, charm ; the other, the impression of greater mass, complexity, power. We are not called upon to pronounce either manner absolutely better than the other ; ....." The last sentence here echoes Bhāmaha's attitudes towards the distinction of style into Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī and the claim of superiority for the former. From this passage, it is also seen that despite the infinite variety in writers' personality, it is yet possible and sensible too to find two broad divisions, one favouring virtues of subdued beauty and the other, exhuberance ; that a subjective and personal basing of style does not preclude the possibility of a classification or definition of style. In this passage of Winchester again,

it seems as if Kālidāsa's style is described and contrasted with that of Bhavabhūti and Bāṇa ; it looks as if good Vaidarbhī and a good handling of the Gauḍī are considered here ; we are clearly reminded of Kuntāka's two Mārgas, the Sukumāra and the Vicitra, the one dominated by beauty that is mainly natural, Sahajaśobhā and the other by ornamentation, Āhāryaśobha, the one in Svabhāva-ukti and Rasa-ukti and the other in Vakrokti, the one displaying greater Śakti and the other, greater Vyutpatti. While the former style is a rare gift, it is very difficult to be successful in the latter ; for the path of ornamentation and elevation has many pitfalls, and frigidity, artificiality and ornateness are easily committed. Says Kuntaka :

सोऽतिदुस्सञ्चरो येन विदग्धकवयो गताः ।
खड्गधारापथेनेव सुभटानां मनोरथाः ॥ [13] V.J. I. 43.

Vide Vṛtti also p. 58. Hence it is that critics do not favour it. It is the deterioration of Vicitramārga that is Daṇḍin's Gauḍī. It is because of this difficulty that Demetrius' Elevated and Forceful styles become, in the hands of lesser artists, the Frigid and the Affected styles. Hence it is that the critics always like the former. Says Winchester : "But it would seem that, in literature at least, the classic manner is the culmination of art. Precision, in the wide sense, must be the highest virtue of expression ; and it is this precision, combined with perfect ease, that constitutes the classic manner." "Individual tastes may justly differ ; but the ultimate verdict of approval will be given to that style in which there is no overcolouring of phrase, no straining of sentiment ; which knows how to be beautiful without being lavish, how to be exact without being bald ; in which you never find a thicket of vague epithet." It is of this style, called by him Sukumāra, that Kuntaka says :

सुकुमाराभिधस्सोऽयं येन सत्कवयो गताः ।
मार्गेणोत्फुल्लकुसुमकाननेनेव षट्पदाः ॥ V.J. I. 29.

Kuntaka is the greatest exponent of the Rīti. That it comprehends all aspects of expression has been well realised by him. He casts off

13. Strangely enough, Padmagupta calls the Vaidarbhī the 'sword-edge-path,' निस्त्रिंशधारापथ—

तत्त्वस्पृशस्ते कवयः पुराणाः श्रीभर्तृमेण्ठप्रमुखा जयन्ति ।
निस्त्रिंशधारासदृशेन येषां वैदर्थमार्गेण गिरः प्रवृत्ताः ॥

Navasāhasāṅkacarita. I. 5.

the old names which have alien geographical associations, dead for a long time, and forges new nomenclature on the basis of a fundamental classification of the manners of expression, on the basis of the more prevailing tendencies among masters in Sanskrit literature. He also shows how each Mārga or Rīti or style is characterised not by certain Bandhaguṇas only, but by a certain attitude in using Alaṅkāras and delineating Rasas also. Above all, he is the only Sanskrit writer who realised very strongly the final basis of style in the character of the poet and consequently related Rīti to the writer.

Kuntaka first refers to the geographical Rītis, Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī. He says that old writers give these three Rītis and call them Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. This point of view Kuntaka objects to, for styles of poetry dependent for their origin on poetic genius and craftsmanship, upon Śakti and Vyutpatti in poets, cannot be spoken of like certain kinds of 'Deśācāra' like marriage, permissible or obtaining in certain parts of the land.

"न च विशीष्टरीतियुक्तत्वेन काव्यकरणं मातुलेयभगिनीविवाहवत् देशधर्मतया व्यवस्थापयितुं शक्यम् । देशधर्मो हि वृद्धव्यवहारपरम्परामात्रशरणः शक्यानुष्ठानतां नातिवर्तते । तथाविधकाव्यकरणं पुनः शक्त्यादिकारणकलापसाकल्यमपेक्ष्य(क्ष)माणं न शक्यते यथाकथञ्चिदनुष्ठातुम् । न च दाक्षिणात्यगीतविषयसुस्वरतादिध्वनिरामणीयकवत्तस्य स्वाभाविकत्वं वक्तुं पार्यते । तस्मिन्सति तथाविधकाव्यकरणं सर्वस्य स्यात् । किञ्च शक्तौ विद्यमानायामपि व्युत्पत्त्यादिः आहार्यकारणसम्पत् प्रतिनियतदेशविषयतया न व्यवतिष्ठते, नियमनिबन्धनाभावात्, तत्र अदर्शनादन्यत्र च दर्शनात् ।" P. 46.

Then Kuntaka criticises the view that holds these three Rītis as Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. If the Gauḍī and the Pāñcālī are not good, why treat of them in the Śāstra ?

"न च रीतीनां उत्तमाधममध्यमत्वभेदेन त्रैविध्यमवस्थापयितुं न्याय्यम् । यस्मात् सहृदयाह्लादकारिकाव्यलक्षणप्रस्तावे वैदर्भीसदृशसौन्दर्यासम्भवात् मध्यमाधमयोरुपदेशवैयर्थ्यमायाति । परिहार्यत्वेनाप्युपदेशः न युक्ततामालंबते, तैरेव अनभ्युपगमात् । न च अगतिकगतिन्यायेन यथाशक्ति दरिद्रदानादिवत् काव्यं करणीयतां अर्हतां(?)अर्हति ।" P. 46.

If however the names Vaidarbhī, etc., are meant only as names and do not mean any geographical connection with poetry, Kuntaka has no objection.

"तदेवं निर्वचनसमाख्यामात्रकरणकारणत्वे देशविशेषाश्रायणस्य वयं न विवदामहे।"[14]

Kuntaka then gives his idea of Rīti that it is based on the character of the poet, Kavisvabhāva. He accepts that this Kavisvabhāva is infinite, but generally speaking, he says that there can be indicated three main types.

"यद्यपि कविस्वभावभेदनिबन्धनत्वात् अनन्तभेदभिन्नत्वमनिवार्यं तथापि परिसंख्यातुं अशक्यत्वात् सामान्येन त्रैविध्यमेवोपपद्यते।" P. 47.

The three styles thus indicated by him are the graceful, the striking and the mixed, Sukumāra, Vicitra and Madhyama. The Sukumāra is the style of certain poets of a similar temperament and it is suited to certain situations. Similarly the Vicitra. The third combines the features of both the styles. All the three are beautiful and have their own charm. It is absurd to suppose that one is good, the other bad or the third passable.

"तथा च रमणीयकाव्यपरिग्रहप्रस्तावे स्वभावसुकुमारस्तावेदको राशिः, तद्व्यतिरिक्तस्य अरमणीयस्य अनुपादेयत्वात्। तद्व्यतिरेकी रामणीयकविशिष्टो विचित्र इत्युच्यते। तदेतयोर्द्वयोरपि रमणीयत्वात् एतदीयच्छायाद्वितयोपजीविनोऽस्य रमणीयत्वमेव न्यायोपपन्नं पर्यवस्यति। तस्मादेतेषां अस्खलितस्वपरिस्पन्दमहिम्ना तद्विदाह्लादकारित्वपरिसमाप्तेः न कस्यचिन्न्यूनता।" P. 47.

Raleigh, in his book on Style, speaks of the 'soul' in style. He quotes Pater who says "As a quality of style, soul is a fact." What is this soul? Raleigh interprets it as 'spirit.' He says in this connection: 'Ardent persuasion and deep feeling enkindle words, so that the weakest take glory.' This is the quality of sincerity he speaks of earlier. Analysed, this resolves into an emphasis on Rasa and the writer's attention to its supreme expression. There is another sincerity which is artistic perfection and which sometimes modifies the sincerity of emotion. In the former case, the poet is true to Rasa and Bhāva, and only to them.

14. This paragraph is concluded by Kuntaka in the words: तदलमनेन निस्सारवस्तुपरिमलनव्यसनेन. On the basis of this, Dr. S. K. De says on p. 386 of his Skr. Poe. Vol. II that Kuntaka was an advocate of the Alaṁkāra school and meant to make light of the Rīti! For a correct statement of Kuntaka's view on Rīti, however, see the same writer's Introduction to his Edn. of the Vakrokti Jīvita, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

In the latter case, he thinks of how best to present that feeling in a setting of words. This anxiety for artistic perfection calls forth style, figures, etc. Those who are impelled by the latter, the artistic sincerity, are followers of the Vicitra Mārga. Those that are absorbed in the Rasa and Bhāva and present them in their own glory are followers of the Sukumāra Mārga. Ideas and words for these sprout out of an ever fresh imagination; there is always an enough ornament which is effortless; the natural beauty of things has been preferred there for artificial adornment; at every step establishing an emotional appeal, it is of unpremeditated grace.

अम्लानप्रतिभोद्भिन्ननवशब्दार्थबन्धुरः ।
अयत्नविहितस्वल्पमनोहारिविभूषणः ॥
भावस्वभावप्राधान्यन्यक्कृताहार्यकौशलः ।
रसादिपरमार्थज्ञमनस्संवादसुन्दरः ॥
अविभावितसंस्थानरामणीयकरञ्जकः ।
विधिवैदग्ध्यनिष्पन्ननिर्माणातिशयोपमः ॥
यत्किञ्चनापि वैचित्र्यं तत्सर्वं प्रतिभोद्भवम् ।
सौकुमार्यपरिस्पन्दस्यन्दि यत्र विराजते ॥
सुकुमाराभिधस्सोऽयं येन सत्कवयो गताः ।
मार्गेणोत्फुल्लकुसुमकाननेनेव षट्पदाः ॥ V.J. I. 25-29.

The main feature of this style is that whatever beauty it possesses is all natural, Sahaja; poetic genius and imagination and not pure craftsmanship and scholarship from the basis of this style. The things of the world and Rasa and Bhāva are given in all the beauty of their very nature and this first-instance-expression is not refashioned in the workshop of figure. That such a definition of style is all-comprehensive need not be pointed out.

Kuntaka also speaks of certain Guṇas as characterising his Mārgas. Of the Sukumāra Mārga he says, Mādhurya is the first Guṇa. It is defined as the un-compounded use of words and a certain grace of the Śabda and Artha—पदानामसमस्तत्वं and शब्दार्थरमणीयतया विन्यासवैचित्र्यम् The insistence on Mādhurya as the use of Asamastapadas[15] is for secu-

15. Cf. Vāmana, III. i. 20. पृथक्पदत्वं माधुर्यम् ।** समासदैर्घ्यनिनिवृत्तिपरं चैतत् । p.79. V. V. Press Edn.

ring clarity of the idea. The words of emphasis, heightenings and lowerings, in a sentence can have their point only if the words remain separate; their emphasis is lost when they are huddled into a compound. Samāsa always hampers understanding. Says Mahimabhaṭṭa :

विनोत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां स्वदन्तेऽर्था न जातुचित् ।
तदर्थमेव कवयोऽलङ्कारान्पर्युपासते ॥
तौ विधेयानुवाद्यत्वविवक्षैकनिबन्धनौ ।
सा समासेऽस्तमायातीत्यसकृत्प्रतिपादितम् ॥
अत एव च वैदर्भीरीतिरेकैव शस्यते ।
यतस्समाससंस्पर्शस्तत्र नैवोपपद्यते ॥
सम्बन्धमात्रमर्थानां समासो ह्यवबोधयेत् ।
नोत्कर्षमपकर्षं वा— V.V. p. 53.

The next Guṇa of the Sukumāra Mārga is Prasāda, the quality by virtue of which the idea is given to us without any difficulty. This Prasāda refers to both Rasa and the idea or Artha which forms its vehicle. The idea may be expressed with Vakratā to give point to it but such turn or deviation adopted should not obscure the idea or take it into the dark.[16] Here also the use of the uncompounded words and words of which meanings are well known, पदानां असमस्तत्वं and प्रसिद्धाभिधानत्वम् [17], are the primary means. The third Guṇa is Lāvaṇya, which refers more to the Śabdas and the Varṇas, which should have an indescribable beauty floating over them. Any kind of Śabdālaṁkāra adopted for this purpose should have been done with ease and done with moderation. Ere the words as messengers of ideas deliver their meanings to the mind, their Lāvaṇya affects the sensibilities of the responsive reader. Similar in nature and borrowed from the same field is the fourth Guṇa given by Kuntaka, Ābhijātya. A certain softness of texture and delicateness of words making the mind feel them form this quality of Ābhijātya, a quality pre-eminently realisable only by the Sahṛdaya and hardly describable in so many words.

16. V.J.I. 31.

17. Cf. Daṇḍin. प्रसादवत्प्रसिद्धार्थand Bhāmaha, II.1. माधुर्यमभिवाञ्छन्तः प्रासादं च सुमेधसः । समासवन्ति भूयांसि न पदानि प्रयुञ्जते ॥

The Vicitra Mārga of Kuntaka is a style dominated by Vakratā. It is a flashy style, gleaming all over with gold dust. It is intricately worked and wrought with design and gem. Alaṁkāra leads to Alaṁkāra ; ere one effect is off our mind, another is on.

अलंकारस्य कवयो यत्रालङ्करणान्तरम् ।
असन्तुष्टा निबध्नन्ति हारादेर्मणिबन्धवत्॥ V.J.I. 35.

A style which reminds us of Vālmīki's description of Rāvaṇa's Puṣpaka—'न तत्र किञ्चिन्न कृतं प्रयत्नतः' and ' ततस्ततस्तुल्यविशेषदर्शनम् ', every bit worked with care and craft and at every step equally striking with some speciality.[18] The description of this Mārga also, as made by Kuntaka, is all-comprehensive, referring to every aspect of expression. (V. J. 1.34-43, pp. 56-66).

Though Kuntaka has indicated two major varieties of style, he is fully aware that style is not classifiable. He says that Mārga or style is infinite in variety and subtle in difference ; for it is based on the poet's nature.

कविस्वभावभेदनिबन्धनत्वेन काव्यप्रस्थानभेदः समञ्जसतां गाहते । सुकुमारस्वभावस्य कवेः तथाविधैव सहजा शक्तिः समुद्भवति, शक्तिशक्तिमतोरभेदात् । तथा च तथाविधसौकुमार्यरमणीयां व्युत्पत्तिमावध्नाति । ताभ्यां च सुकुमारवर्त्मनाभ्यासतत्परः क्रियते । तथैव चैतस्माद् विचित्रः स्वभावो यस्य कवेः तस्य काचिद् विचित्रैव तदनुरूपा शक्तिस्ससुल्लसति । V.J. p. 46.

यद्यपि कविस्वभावभेदनिबन्धनत्वादनन्तभेदभिन्नत्वमनिवार्यं, तथापि परिसंख्यातुमशक्यत्वात् सामान्येन त्रैविध्यमेवोपपद्यते । *ibid*, p. 47.

Though character is subtle and infinite, differing with each person, it is possible to say that there are three classes, the Sukumāra and the Vicitra types and that of those who have both in varying proportions. The Sukumāra nature of a writer affects his Vyutpatti and practice of writing which becomes stamped with that quality. Vyutpatti and Abhyāsa bring out his Svabhāva. The poet's Svabhāva is clearly expressed in the writing. Is this not the expression of the writer's personality, his soul ? What else does Kuntaka say in the words :

18. Adopting a Sanskritic comparison, we can say that the Sukumāra Mārga is like the beautiful Kulāṅganā, and the Vicitra Mārga like the brilliant Gaṇikā.

"आस्तां तावत् काव्यकरणं, विषयान्तरेऽपि सर्वस्य कस्यचिद् अनादिवासनाभ्यासाधिवासितचेतसः स्वभावानुसारिणावेव व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासौ प्रवर्तेते । तौ च स्वभावाभिव्यञ्जनेनैव साफल्यं भजतः ।" V.J. p. 47.

Again Kuntaka emphasises the infinite variety of style and its basis in the author's nature. He takes the well-known poets and assigns them to the different styles. Mātṛgupta, Māyurāja and Mañjīra are exponents of the third combined Mārga. Their poetry has a natural grace which they have rendered attractive with some decoration also. Kālidāsa and Sarvasena (the author of the Harivijaya, mentioned by Ānanda in Ud. III) are masters in the Sukumāra Mārga, their poetry being the product of natural genius and appealing by their natural beauty. Bāṇabhaṭṭa is the greatest representative of the Vicitra Mārga and Bhavabūti and Rājaśekhara also belong to this class.

"अत्र गुणोदाहरणानि परिमितत्वात् प्रदर्शितानि, प्रतिपदं पुनः छायावैचित्र्यं सहृदयैस्स्वयमेवानुसर्तव्यम् । अनुसरणदिक्प्रदर्शनं पुनःक्रियते । यथा मातृगुप्तमायुराजमञ्जीरप्रभृतीनां सौकुमार्यवैचित्र्यसंवलितपरिस्पन्दस्पन्दीनि काव्यानि संभवन्ति । तत्र मध्यममार्गे संवलितं स्वरूपं विचारणीयम् । एवं सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र सुकुमारमार्गस्वरूपं चर्चनीयम् । तथैव च विचित्रवक्रत्वविजृंभितं हर्षचरिते प्रायुर्येण भट्टबाणस्य विभाव्यते भवभूतिराजशेखरविरचितेषु बन्धसौन्दर्यसुभगेषु मुक्तकेषु (?) परिदृश्यते । तस्मात्सहृदयैस्सर्वत्र सर्वमनुसर्तव्यम् ।

एवं मार्गत्रितयलक्षणं दिङ्मात्रमेव प्रदर्शितम् । न पुनस्साकल्येन सत्कविकौशलप्रकाराणां केनचिदपि स्वरूपमभिधातुं पार्यते ।" V.J. p. 71.

Similar is the view of Daṇḍin also. He describes two Mārgas that can clearly be distinguished, for, he says, Rītis are infinite and their differences very subtle. So subtle is the character of one's writing from that of another that it is as difficult to point out their differences as to describe in so many words the difference between various kinds of sweetness, of sugar, sugarcane, milk, etc. Daṇḍin says :

अस्त्यनेको गिरां मार्गःसूक्ष्मभेदः परस्परम् ।
तत्र वैदर्भगौडीयौ वर्ण्येते प्रस्फुटान्तरौ ॥ I.40.
इति मार्गद्वयं भिन्नं तत्स्वरूपनिरूपणात् ।
तद्भेदास्तु न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं प्रतिकविस्थिताः ॥

इक्षुक्षीरगुडादीनां माधुर्यस्यान्तरं महत् ।
तथापि न तदाख्यातुं सरस्वत्यापि शक्यते ॥ I. 101-2.

Śāradātanaya says on Rīti in his Bhāvaprakāśa :

प्रतिवचनं प्रतिपुरुषं तदवान्तरजातितः प्रतिप्रीति ।
आनन्त्यात् संक्षिप्य प्रोक्ता कविभिश्चतुर्धैव ॥
Ch. I, pp. 11-12. lines 21-24.

त एवाक्षरविन्यासास्ता एव पदपङ्क्तयः ।
पुंसि पुंसि विशेषेण कापि कापि सरस्वती ॥ *Ibid.* p. 12. lines 1-2.

As explained by Bhoja,

रीङ् गताविति धातोस्सा व्युत्पत्त्या रीतिरुच्यते ।
S. K. Ā. II.17.

Rīti is the characteristic *way* of a writer. The other words used as synonyms are Gati, Mārga, Panthāḥ and Prasthāna. In Tamil and especially while our Rasikas appreciate our musicians, we hear of the particular Panthā, Vaḷi or Naḍai of each artist. All these words mean style. A poet of mark has a style. To posses a distinct style is to be a poet of mark.

सत्यर्थे सत्सु शब्देषु सति चाक्षरडम्बरे ।
शोभते यं विना नोक्तिः स पन्था इति घुष्यते ॥ I. 10.
अन्धास्ते कवयो येषां पन्थाः क्षुण्णः परैर्भवेत् ।
परेषां तु यदाक्रान्तः पन्थास्ते कविकुञ्जराः ॥ I. 17.
—Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, Gaṅgāvataraṇa Kāvya.

Public opinion in Ancient India : A Bird's-eye View

By

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There is no evidence of the existence of Press in ancient India and consequently no trace of Journalists and Journalism. Still public opinion was a force in politics and ancient Indian Governments had to reckon with it.

In Vedic India the very election of the king was in the hands of the people. Every village and town had a public hall which served as a meeting place for social intercourse and general conversation, as also for debates and verbal contests.[1] The king often took note of the discussions and tried to follow the trend of public opinion.

In the epoch of the epics the weight of public opinion became still more pronounced. The epic king enjoyed the privilege of nominating his successor, only subject to the approval of the commonalty of the realm. Daśaratha invited the chief people of all cities and villages in his Empire and placed before them his suggestion of consecrating Rāma as Crown Prince. These people formed themselves into an assembly and after discussing the qualities and capacities of Rāma gave their consent. The aged King, it is said, was gratified at this and accepted the decision 'with folded hands'.[2]

To quote another instance from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 34. When Yayāti wanted to install his youngest son Pūru the people (*Prakṛtis*) objected to the suppression of the eldest prince. Yayāti had to explain his position. On this the people approved the candidature of Pūru.

Again the following texts of the *Mahābhārata* throw welcome light on this question. In the Śānti Parva,[3] it is said that the king should send secret and loyal spies throughout his kingdom to ascertain whether the conduct of his government on the previous day has or has not met

1. Rg Veda, VI, 28, 6: VIII.4.9. Atharva Veda, VII.12. 2-3.
2. Rāma. Ayōdh. Ch. III to VI.
3. Ch. 89, verses 15-16, (Kumbakonam edition).

with public approbation, and also to ascertain whether his conduct has or has not met with general approval, and whether people in rural parts agreed and those in the Capital acquiesced.

That the State policy and conduct were regulated according to public opinion is forcefully, though crudely, set forth in the Rāmāyaṇa in the alleged reasons as to why Rāma parted with his queen Sītā after his Coronation. Though he was personally convinced of her innocence, he divorced her in response to public will.

From the epoch of the Epics, we proceed to the Buddhist literature. There was a common Mote Hall (Sanghagara) at Kapilavastu where young and old were alike present to discuss the business of the State. It appears each clan had its own hall. For instance it is said that when king Pasenadi proposed to marry a Sakiyan princess, the Sakiyans were in session at their Mote Hall to discuss the proposition of King Pasenadi. Again it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas, another tribe, that Ānanda went to announce the death of the Buddha.[4] In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, a Buddhist canonical work, the Buddha tells Ānanda that " so long as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, so long they may be expected not to decline but to prosper." (I. 4.). The reference here is to yet another clan, Vajjians. What is true of one clan, is equally true of other clans mentioned. It appears that in the opinion of the Buddha such assemblies of the people should be *full* and should meet *frequently* so that they could discuss day to day problems then and there.

Coming to the Mauryan period of Indian History, at the commencement of which flourished Kauṭalya, the celebrated statesman of all ancient India. Kauṭalya equally recognises the force of public opinion in politics. He prescribes that the king must be made to realise that his prosperity rested on the good will of the people,[5] and he mentions elsewhere that the wrath of the people had led to the killing of some monarchs. He insists that royal writs (*śāsanas*) should be issued under the seal of the king. These were of different kinds—writs of information, of command, of gifts, or remission of taxes, of commerce, of general proclamations, etc.[6] There was an officer-in-charge of these writs. The person (Lekha) employed for this purpose must possess a legible and intelligible hand, must be smart in composition and reading, and must be in touch with contemporary events not only of his own kingdom but

4. See Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 9.
5. Ar. Śās. Bk. I, sec. 19.
6. Bk. II. Sec. 10.

also of other States, especially of those with whom his state had frequent intercourse.[7] It is significant to note the term *patrasampreṣana* or sending of letters or other communications.[8]

To study public opinion as it were Kauṭalya advises the King to employ spies masquerading in disguise of all kinds who were controlled by an Espionage Bureau. Cipher writing (*gūḍalekhya*) was used. The services of carrier pigeons were enlisted. News writers at the headquarters of Provincial Administrations supplied secret reports to the Imperial Headquarters through this Espionage Bureau. If the versions of three different spies, unknown to one another agree, then action was taken.[9] It is said that these spies gathered generally information from the meetings of common people at the temples, rest houses, public parks and assembly halls.[10]

In the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra* (I. 95)[11] it is definitely ruled that the state should give up even a small undertaking if there was public clamour against it. Another prescription of Bṛhaspati goes further (I. 4.) when it is said that even the right thing should be discarded by the State if people raised their voice against it. Thus from the Vedic times to the commencement of the Christian Era we see that the administration took into consideration the opinion of the General public, and invariably acted so as to satisfy the common will. This explains the democratic spirit in ancient Hindu administration.

Corresponding to the *sabhas* of Sanskrit Literature and the Mote Hall of the Buddhist books, we have Maṉṟams mentioned in Tamil Śangam works. This was the common public hall of the village or town where the folk of the village or town met and discussed social and political questions affecting them. We have to infer that the results of such discussions were communicated to the Government. We have the testimony of Epigraphy to show that one method of convening such public meetings was to the beat of drum or by the blowing of a trumpet. These served the place of written notices summoning people to the meetings.[12]

Later on we find the Vijayanagara kings equally respected public opinion. Finding that public opinion was not in favour of the continua-

7. *Ibid.*
8. Bk. I. Sec. 15.
9. Bk. I. Sec. 12.
10. Bk. II. Sec. 36; Also Bk. I. Sects. 12 and 13.
11. Edited by F. W. Thomas.
12. See No. 553 of 1921 and 103 of 1897. See also S.I.I. VI. pp. 32-33.

tion of the marriage-tax payable by the bride and bridegroom at the time of the marriage, Kṛṣṇa Rāya remitted it.[13] Saluva Narasimha who usurped royal power was anxious to get approval by the popular will. He sent special agents to all parts of the empire with *ninepa* or writs of information that he would renew old grants and redress other grievances of the people. Such has been the weight of public opinion which has influenced the imperial government and its policy in Hindu India.

13. Madras Epigraphy Report, 387 of 1904.

The Dynamism of the Indian Concept of Rasa

By

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It is not unusual to talk in a somewhat patronising manner about the Hindu concepts of values in general and of aesthetic values in particular and especially about the Hindu concept of *Rasa*. It is said that the concept of values in India is not adequate or comprehensive and that the real quintessence of the aesthetic values is missed in Indian Aesthetics and that the Hindu Concept of Rasa is static and unprogressive and, further, tends to curb rather than to kindle the imagination. It is asserted that too much stress is placed upon the emotional content, and that, further, the visualising of such content suffers from the drawbacks of conventionalities and limited vision.

The English word *value* expresses in a measure the concept of the Purushārthas. In the case of man we have not a mere instinctive physical response but also a mental response and a spiritual response as well. We can visualise the highest human aims only by combining pragmatism and idealism. Berkeley himself said that we should talk with the vulgar and think with the learned. If we try to combine the average man's ideas and the metaphysical mind's intuitions we shall be able to get a full idea of values. The ordinary man is likely to stop with the obvious while the danger of the metaphysician is that he will ignore or deny the real. We have to know both orders of Reality to realise and enjoy the gamut of the values of life.

In the sub-human world there is some trace of the fine arts, but their utility and beauty are not far apart but are instinctive and commingled and even confused. Birds sing to charm their mates and build nests to rear their young. In the useful arts of man, utility predominates over beauty but both are fused by reason. But in the fine arts, it is beauty that is the dominant factor. The creation of the artist becomes valuable for its own sake. It is the addition of the human spirit to what nature brings. *Homo additus naturae.* The spiritual addition is the bringing in of the elements of spontaneity and freedom and beauty and creativeness and joy which form the characteristics of the life spiritual. The presence of these traits forms the magical enchantment of Art. Art releases such elements in the spectator as in the artist, because in it spirit speaketh unto spirit.

I spoke above of the addition brought by the artist's mind. He first of all selects and then recombines. He then tries to express his creative idea through such a creative process. As Bacon says we submit to ourselves the shows of things. The new world of art is hence a small human creation out of the ample divine creation. A. C. Bradley says about poetry : " Its nature is to be not a part, nor yet a copy of the real world (as we commonly understand that phrase) but to be a world by itself, independent, complete, autonomous." Similarly the marble of nature puts on a significant form in the artist's hand and seems almost to breathe. The painter adds " the light that never was on sea or land." The musician takes the sounds that all utter and weaves them into a divine enchantment. As Newman says well : " There are seven notes in the scale ; make them fourteen, yet what a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise ! What science brings so much out of so little ? . . . Is it possible that that inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes, so rich, so simple, so intricate, yet so regulated, so various, yet so majestic, should be a mere sound which is gone and perishes ? Can it be that these mysterious stirrings of heart and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and, comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself ? It is not so ; it cannot be. No ; they have escaped from some higher sphere ; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound ; they are echoes from our Home ; they are the voice of Angels, or the magnificat of saints, or the living laws of Divine Government, or the Divine Attributes ; something are they besides themselves, which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter, though mortal man, and he perhaps not otherwise distinguished above his fellows, has the gift of eliciting them." In an equally famous passage Pater has said that the other arts tend towards the condition of music. In music form and idea are so interwoven that they are one. Lord Leighton refers to it in memorable words as " the art which has borne up and daily bears up, in oblivious ecstacy so many weary souls." All the fine arts sweeten life but Music sweetens it most. Edward Carpenter says well that it fills " with its inspirations a gap in the utterance of the other arts and a period of intense ugliness and sordidness in external affairs."

If we wish to know the real essence of beauty and put aside the tyranny of the obvious, we must therefore go to music. A. J. Balfour says well : " It makes no assertions ; so its claims on our admiration can have nothing to do with *true*. It serves no purpose ; so it raises no question as to the relation between " the beautiful " and " the useful ". It copies nothing ; so the aesthetic worth of imitation and the proper relation of art to nature are problems which it never even suggests. From the

endless controversies about Realism, Idealism, and Impressionism, with which the criticism of other arts has been encumbered, musical criticism is thus happily free." Thus any theory of beauty and art which gives us a convincing explanation of musical values as a branch of aesthetic values would be adequate ; but that which fails to do so would be inadequate. In every experience of beauty—however difficult it might be to define beauty—it is felt that there is an individual element and that there is a universal element. The former contributes the element of change, and the latter the element of eternity.

I took the beautiful as the centrality in values because it is its irradiation that helps us to realise the other values aright and to effect a transvaluation of all values. In science we depersonalise ourselves and merge ourselves in the material. In art we affirm our personality and fill the rifts in the ore of material with the rich gold of our personality. In morality we refine such personality by giving it extension and refinement by fusing it with the social impulse. In it beauty of motive and beauty of conduct are fused into an incandescent unity. Heroism is such loftier and richer and more extended and refined personality breaking through our personality. In Truth such personality is touched by the Divine Personality and we breathe " an ampler ether and a diviner air." The values of life implied in the doctrine of the Purushārthas are vitally connected with one another and are vitalised by one another. It is our shortness of vision that sunders them and disfigures them. Thus the concept of values as expressed in the doctrine of *purushārthas* is the most adequate and comprehensive concept known to man.

If we thus visualise the Beautiful as the most divinely human and humanly divine of the real values of life, we shall be able to reach the heart of the concept of Rasa. India never propounded such heresies as Art for Art's sake. Art is for the sake of the God in man. The highest aspects of the self-revelation of God in the finite are Beauty and Sublimity and the evoked emotions are Love and Awe. Hence the Indian books on Aesthetics say that Sringara (Love) or Adbhuta (the marvelluos) is the supreme and typical Rasa. In the Uttararâma Charita Bhavabhuti declares Karuna (Pathos) to be the basic Rasa. That is because (in Dryden's words) " Pity melts the mind to Love." The concept of Rasa expresses the quintessence of the Aesthetic value, because India alone knew and said in clear terms that the function of art is to enkindle a dominant and lasting emotion. Further, the concept is really dynamic, because it is in the passage of our sense-impressions through the enveloping atmosphere of human emotion that they became incandescent and attain the glory of art. J. A. Symonds says in a striking

passage in his *Renaissance in Italy* : " As meteors become luminous by traversing the grosser element of our terrestrial atmosphere, so the thoughts that Art employs must needs immerse themselves in sensuousness." Even the intuitions of the Divine, just like our sense-impressions of nature, must pass through the enveloping of atmosphere of human feeling (Bhâva) to become radiant and warm and worthy of worship and adoration. The dynamism of the Hindu concepts of Bhâva and Rasa is clear in all the fine arts in India but is felt most in music. Ethel Rosenthal says well in her work on *Indian Music and Its Instruments* : " All *Rāgas* express certain *Rasas ;* when their language is understood, the soul of Indian music is revealed in all its beauty."

Even in the Veda, *Rasa* is used to express the supreme Bliss of the Spiritual Consciousness (रसो वै सः रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वाऽनन्दीभवति) The tasting of aesthetic pleasure when the heart is full of a deep and overflowing emotion was soon perceived to be akin to such spiritual bliss both in the purity and disinterested character of the joy and its power to calm and fascinate the mind (विगलितवेद्यान्तरमानन्दं). It is akin to spiritual bliss (ब्रह्मानन्दसहोदरः). It is this realisation that was given an immortal description by means of a story relating to the birth of the *Ramayana* (शोकार्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा).

Nature abounds in cruelties and " is red in tooth and claw." But the sight of these miseries does not result in supreme poetry in our hearts or our lips. A certain purity and exultation of emotion and imagination are needed to rouse a deep feeling of pathos in such intensity as to generate poetry. It was Bharata that gave the theory of Rasa its complete and final form in the realm of aesthetics. It is not my purpose here to trace the evolution of the aesthetic concept in Bharata, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Rudrabhaṭṭa, and others. I must however refer to the element of imaginative realisation of the feelings experienced and described, as emphasised by Kalidasa (तन्मयत्वं रसेषु Malavikagnimitra, II, 8). Bhavabhuti calls this as a melting of the heart (द्रवीभूतं प्रेम्णा Uttararamacharita III, 13). It was Ānanda-vardhana that vitalised and sweetened the concept of Rasa by the concept of Dhvani. It is Dhvani that, like the moon behind the hill, is hidden and yet flings a finer light गूढं सच्चमत्करोति. The suggested Rasa has an exquisiteness all its own. It is that heightened mood that unifies the hero and the heroine with the author and the actor, nay, with the reader and the hearer as well. It is there that the *Vāsanās* of all of them reach a blessed and blended harmony that as in the case of flowers bloom together.

Thus the concept of Rasa itself contains the element of dynamic progress, because Rasa is not a mere passive mood generated by the environment but is that active mood generated by the action and interaction of *milieu* and moment and race and personality. That is why we find in the emotions as described in art a fine excess over the average emotions of our ordinary lives. Art takes us at our tensest moments and puts a new intensity therein. That is why Art lifts us out of the ordinary ruts of our daily and conventional life and removes the dust from the mirror of our minds. In the love-emotion—be it manifested in Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra or Vipralamba Śṛṅgāra—as visioned and expressed in art, we find an exaltation and intensity that few of us reach, and that seldom, in our ordinary life, and most of us—even in countries where love precedes marriage—miss altogether. I advisedly say so because the mere fact that courtship precedes marriage cannot make little minds great.

The dynamism of the Hindu concept of the *Rasa* is felt not only in the realisation of the origin and growth of Rasa in us but also in the way in which the content of each Rasa widened under the pressure of individual realisation and social experience. The Rasas of Śṛṅgāra and Bhakthi seem to be timeless and fundamental. But the Rasas of Karuṇa (Pathos) and Vīra (Heroism) have a large social element in them and feel and show the pressure of the Time-Spirit in the course of its victorious evolution. If we trace the growth of the Rasa of Karuṇa from its radiant dawn when pity burst into poesy on the lips of Vālmīki to the time when Jainism and Buddhism gave a new and amplified and dynamic application to the principle of Ahimsā and brought into existence such a drama as Nāgānanda, we can realise the liveness and dynamism of the concept of Rasa. Within the ambit of the Vīra Rasa we find new and rich realisations and we have the potrayals of the Dāna Vīra, the Dayā Vīra, as the Dharma Vīra and so on. To-day the concept of patriotism towards a united India has attained such nationwide evocation that it has expressed itself in the wonderful song *Vande Mataram* and in the patriotic songs of Tagore and Bharati, and there is no doubt that the *Satyāgraha* movement has given a new and dynamic amplification to the Vīra Rasa and will find rich and adequate expression in Art and especially in the arts of Poetry and Drama and Music.

What I plead for is that we should keep our hold on the vital concept of *Rasa* while amplifying and intensifying its emotional and imaginative content. We should realise the place of aesthetic values in a general scheme of values and the central place of the *Rasa* concept in the scheme of aesthetic values. But unfortunately our Universities have no realisation of the value of our aesthetical concepts and accord only a step-

motherly treatment to our literature and art. It is no wonder that, though the products of such University education may have finish, they have no fineness at all and show an attitude of contemptuous philistinism in regard to Indian art and its *motifs* and traditions and values. Unless the fundamental concepts of Indian art pass into the minds of our young men and women, how can there be a demand for beautiful things or any real encouragement of artists ? This is not merely a need of India but is a need of the world as well. All over the world there is a lack of synthetic vision and authentic voice in the industrial arts as well as in the fine arts. The lament that " Glory and Loveliness have passed away " is heard everywhere. Dr. Forbes Watson says : " The study of Indian Art might in numberless ways improve the character of the everyday articles around us." But if the salt loses its savour, where-with shall life be salted ? Pater says : " There come, from time to time, eras of more favourable conditions in which the thoughts of men draw nearer than is their wont, and many interests of the world combine in *one complete type of culture.*" Shall we not strive for such a time ?

Rasa aspect of the Mālatīmādhava

By

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" कथाशरीरमुत्पाद्यवस्तु कार्यं तथा तथा ।
यथा रसमयं सर्वमेवैतत्प्रतिभासते ॥"

[*Dhvanyāloka, Bombay* Ed. (1911) p. 147]

Next to Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika,* Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* is the popular *Prakaraṇa* in Sanskrit literature. As a follower of the canons of Sanskrit dramaturgy he weaves out the love-story of Mālatī and Mādhava in *ten* acts interspersed with by-plots and episodes. The plot as a whole is the poet's own invention as is generally the case with *Prakaraṇas,* though the central theme is taken from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhat-Kathā.* The love-story of Mālatī and Mādhava is dexterously blended with that of Madayantikā and Makaranda, the boon-companions of Mālatī and Mādhava. In all love-plays in Sanskrit the Vidūṣaka, a personification of *Hāsyarasa* and an active *co-adjutor* of the hero, plays a prominent part, and the absence of this comic character in the *Mālatīmādhava* is a successful departure from the convention of Sanskrit drama. It is probably the dramatist's intention to outshine his predecessors in the field, chiefly Kālidāsa. Whether or not Bhavabhūti has achieved his object, it can be said to the full credit of our author that he has wonderfully managed the situations, comic, thrilling, piteous, calm, etc. Makaranda serves Mādhava as a sincere and affectionate friend who dares even to put an end to his life by throwing himself into the river when his friend Mādhava falls in a swoon (Act IX). At the bidding of Kāmandakī Makaranda readily puts on the bride's apparel, joins the marriage procession and goes to the royal bed-chamber to meet Nandana, the proposed bridegroom of Mālatī. And whenever Mādhava is in utter despair, Makaranda coaxes and brings him back to his normal condition by his sweet and encouraging words (Acts I and IV). Mādhava also appears in Act III as a great friend of Makaranda, though Kāmandakī, as a *niṣṛṣṭārthadūtī,* plays a prominent part in bringing about the marriage between Mālatī and Mādhava and between Madayantikā and Makaranda. So Makaranda, as a helpmate of the hero, is more than a Vidūṣaka, though he does not produce laughter in the audience. This lack of comic elements is due to a great extent to Bhavabhūti's own temperament, which does not, in ordinary circum-

stances, welcome incidents of *Hāsyarasa*. To him the course of true love never runs smooth; so he, as an experienced artist, introduces many incidents which look to an ordinary eye, quite improbable. The tiger-scene (Act III) is considered to be an anomaly by some critics; and not only that, they add, Bhavabhūti ought to have created some better opportunity for Makaranda to associate himself with his love Madayantikā. So also Mādhava's appearance in the cemetery scene as a dealer of human flesh (Act V) which, by chance, led to the rescue of Mālatī from the Kāpālikas, is said to be another instance of Bhavabhūti's lack of dramatic workmanship in choosing and knitting together suitable incidents for his theme.

These criticisms will have full significance and value if development of the plot is the most important thing to be observed by the dramatist in writing a drama. All Indian poets and literary critics have accepted that Rasa-delineation is the pivot around which characterisation and weaving of the plot revolve. In the tiger-scene a tiger is made to escape from the cage: this need not be regarded as an improbable incident in a city like Padmapura. The very announcement of the startling news of the escape of the tiger *from behind the curtains* contains a clear note on the wild nature of the indignant beast of prey, which manages to break the strong iron-chain with which it is tied in the cage, to smash the cage to pieces and to come out to the adjoining plain of the temple of Śaṅkara. It is quite possible that cities like Padmapura of ancient India could boast of Zoos from which a tiger might have escaped and created panic among the citizens.

When Madayantikā falls by chance into the clutches of the tiger, Makaranda accidentally rescues her and she aids him naturally when he falls unconscious mauled by the beast. Here the *Bhayānaka rasa* is delineated as an accessory to the *Śṛṅgāra*; and the love of Madayantikā and Makaranda is thus made very pure, chaste and lasting by their personal sufferings and mutual help. This is probably the ideal of love to Bhavabhūti and perhaps to Bāṇabhaṭṭa also. Kālidāsa's view of life, especially the courtship of lovers, is less serious and less complete. To him the charm of love is in separation when it leads first to despair and on a further attempt, to re-union. He strives therefore only for the delineation of *Karuṇa* and *Hāsya* as accessories of Śṛṅgāra. But as he expresses in the prologue to the Mālatīmādhava:

'भूम्ना रसानां गहनाः प्रयोगाः
सौहार्दहृद्यानि विचेष्टितानि।
औद्धत्यमायोजितकामसूत्रम्
चित्राः कथा वाचि विदग्धता च॥'

"Representations become difficult on account of too many sentiments delineated; actions are harmoniously blended together and made beautiful; daring deeds are (introduced) to achieve the main erotic element; parts of the story are exciting wonder and the language (in the Drama) is rich and free from any flaw." Bhavabhūti has intentionally made difficult the delineation of almost all Rasas (except perhaps the *Śānta rasa*) by introducing incidents of a varied character, which can be knit together only by a master artist. The cemetery scene also which gives an opportunity for Mādhava to achieve his end, Mālatī's love, is to be justified only on the ground that it makes Mālatī never abandon Mādhava, her life-giver, during her life-time. Here also as accessories to *Śṛṅgāra rasa, Bībhatsa* and *Bhayānaka* are introduced which under normal conditions are not suited to a love play. This feature makes Bhavabhūti's play less popular and less attractive as he himself anticipates in the prologue—

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञाम्
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

"Those who condemn me fail to understand me, and this attempt of mine is not intended for them. Some one of my calibre will be born (to appreciate me), for time is endless and the world is wide enough."

Thus Bhavabhūti's literary genius is to be recognised on account of the fact that in the Mālatīmādhava he introduces instead of the comic and the lovely, incidents producing thrill and horror, blended with the super-natural, and thus delineates the antagonistic Rasas—*Bībhatsa, Bhayānaka* and *Raudra*—which could not be so successfully handled in a love-play by another artist. This claims for him a higher place in the realm of dramatic literature than for his two rivals—Kālidāsa and Śūdraka. But it must be admitted that his overemphasis on the delineation of Rasas of all kinds considerably marred the other two aspects of the drama—characterisation and development of the plot. In Kālidāsa there is generally a perfect harmony between the theme and the Rasa, which gives a special charm to his dramas. He does not soar so high in his imagination as Bhavabhūti does, so that his imaginative flights are not far from the realities of the common world. Śūdraka in his *Mṛcchakaṭika* tries to develop two distinct things, one turning it at every stage into a comedy with Śṛṅgāra as the main sentiment, and the other into a tragedy with Karuṇa as the leading Rasa. Most suc-

cessfully the author would have turned it into a tragedy but for his great respect for the convention. His wavering at every stage might have persuaded him to delineate the two Rasas, *Śṛṅgāra* and *Karuṇa*, almost in equal prominence—a fact which may be considered as slipshod in the art of the dramatist. This vacillation has also led him to make Vasantasenā appear at the psychological moment before the executioners of Cārudatta—a situation which is censured by critics as a happening by mere chance. In this respect Bhavabhūti is the worst offender in the opinion of western critics, for in three clear instances—the tiger-scene, the cemetery scene and the scene of Mālatī's rescue by Saudāminī—he makes Makaranda, Mādhava and Saudāminī appear most unexpectedly in the scenes. Nothing appeals to these critics that comes by chance, and so they consider* that as a great defect in dramatic workmanship. But to an Indian *sahṛdaya* such an event wrought by chance kindles his emotion of wonder, which when roused to action subsequently enables him to realise the main Rasa more effectively than otherwise.

*Vide A. B. Keith's Sanskrit Drama, p. 193.

Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variation[1]

By

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There is an interesting discussion on the question of accent of demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, in the seventh section of Part I. i. of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's Ṛgvedānukramaṇī (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Part 1, 1932). At its first appearance, asyá is accented in Ṛv. I. 164. I; 7; but at the subsequent appearance, it has no accent—*asyá vāmásya asya.* Again in Ṛv. I. 61. 7, *asyédu mātu'ḥ* we find *asyá* accented; in fact all the sixteen stanzas in this hymn (except the last one) begin with either *asmai'* or *asyá.* Here the word is the substitute for *Indra.* But Mādhavabhaṭṭa directs our attention to the fact that *doing the same function* as in the above quoted hymn, *asya* is unaccented in *yuṁjáṁtyasya kā'myā* (Ṛv. I. 6. 2).[2] Mādhavabhaṭṭa not only gives this solitary instance, but gives us three more illustrations *na'smai vidyu'nná tanyatu'ḥ* (Ṛv. I. 32. 13.), *ná kirasya sahamtya* ((Ṛv. I. 27. 8.), *evā' hyasya*[3] *sūnṛ'tā* (Rv. I, 8, 8.).

अस्येति प्रथमादेश उदात्तं स्मर्यते पदम् ।
अन्वादेशे चानुदात्तमस्य वामस्य दृश्यते ॥
अस्येदुमातुः सवने ननूदात्तोऽत्र दृश्यते ।

1. The first three instalments of this paper have been already published in J.O.R.M. Volume IX, Part IV, Volume X Parts I and III.

2. Sāyana's comments on *asya* in this passage are as follows:—

अस्य ब्रध्नमित्युक्तस्य परामर्शादिदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ इत्यश् । शित्त्वात् (P. I, 1, 55.) (अनेकाल्शित्सर्वस्य) सर्वादेशोऽनुदात्तः विभक्तिरनुदात्तैवेति सर्वानुदात्तत्वम् ।

3. Sāyana comments *asya* in this passage thus:

अस्येन्द्रस्य । प्रकृतस्येन्द्रस्य परामर्शादिदमो अन्वादेश इत्यादिनाशादेशो अनुदात्त इति सर्वानुदात्तः ॥

अस्मा अस्येति सूक्तेऽस्मिन्निन्द्र एवापदिश्यते ॥
ऋच्येतस्यामन्वादेश इति वक्तुन्न युज्यते ।
युञ्जन्त्यस्य काम्या[4] भिन्नायामपि दर्शनात् ॥
नास्मै विद्युन्नतन्यतुर्नकिरस्य सहन्त्य च ।
एवा हि अस्य सूनृता ऋचश्चात्र निदर्शनम् ॥[5]

In the very first stanza of the fifty-fifth hymn of the Ṛgveda *asya* is unaccented.[6] It is because, *Indra* (whose substitute this word is), has already been praised in the previous hymn.

दिवश्चिदस्य वरिमा सूक्तादौ च प्रदृश्यते।
अन्वादेशः पूर्वसूक्ते स्तुतस्यैव पुनःस्तुतौ ॥
(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī Part I. i. vii. 5.).

Mādhavabhaṭṭa reminds us that we cannot think of advancing the hypothesis that *anvādeśa* is unaccented in the midst of a *pāda*, for we have instances of such *anvādeśa* accented. Examples are :—

माकिर्नो अस्य परिषूतिः (Ṛv. IX. 85. 8.)
अग्ने चिकिद्धि१ स्य न इदं (Ṛv. V. 22. 4.)
ज्यायां समस्य (Ṛv. V. 44. 8.)

अन्वादेशः पादमध्ये सर्वत्रेति न युज्यते ।
यस्मादुदात्ता दृश्यन्ते पादमध्येऽपि तद्यथा ॥
माकिर्नोऽस्य परिषूतिरग्ने चिकिद्धि अस्य नः ।
पादा ज्यायांसमस्येति सर्वे तत्र निदर्शनम् ॥
(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī Part I. i. vii. stanzas 6-7.)

All that we can say only is that not even once is *asya* unaccented at the very commencement of a *pāda*. But accenting this word is very frequent when it occurs in the middle of a pāda. This points to the conclusion that even though it stands for an antecedent, this word *asya*

4. This foot is wanting in two syllables.
5. Rgvedānukramaṇī, Part I. i. vii. stanzas 1-4.
6. Diva'ścidasya varimā'.

is accented invariably when it occurs at the very beginning of a sentence but sometimes even in the middle of a sentence, when thereby *emotional intensity* in the stream of speech is intended to be brought into prominence.[7]

A higher degree of crystallization is coupled with a lower degree of accent. Likewise a smaller degree of crystallization is coupled with a higher degree of accent. "A (accent) and M (meaning) seem to bear an inverse relationship to F (frequency) and C (crystallization). Indeed it is possible that the phenomenon is representable by the formula FACM = K (constant), although (because the distinctness of meaning cannot be reduced to quantitative measurement) quantitative values can never probably be substituted for the symbols of this formula." ("The Psycho-Biology of Language" by George Kingsley Zipf 1935, pages 156-7.). It is perhaps due to a tendency on the part of the speakers of the vedic language to introduce a variety into their discourse, *asyá* was accented even in the middle of a *Pāda*, for Auditor B will not care to listen if Speaker A's discourse is too dull. (*ibid.*, page 212.).

It is perhaps the same reason which accounts for a change in the order of words, (a breach in normal arrangement to bring into prominence *intensity*) in the following hemistich which is repeated in catenation in Ṛv. IX. 67. 31 and 32.

yáḥ pāvamānī'r adhyéty ṝ'ṣibhih sáṁbhṛtam
rásam
pāvamanī'r yo' adhyéty ṝ'ṣibhih sáṁbhṛtam rásam.[8]

[7] पादादिष्वनुदात्तोऽस्य न कदाचन दृश्यते ।
उदात्ताः पादमध्येऽपि दृश्यन्ते बहवस्तथा ॥
वाक्यादावपदिष्टोऽपि लौकिकैरपदिश्यते ।
उच्चैर्धर्मी ततस्तत्र नान्वादेशस्य संभवः ॥
पूर्वस्मिन्प्रकृतो वाक्ये वाक्यमध्येऽपदिश्यते ।
नीचैरर्थस्वभावेन सोऽन्वादेशः स्मृतो बुधैः ॥

Rgvedānukramaṇi. Part I. i. vii. 8-10.

8. *See* M. Bloomfield, Indo-Germanische Forschungen. Volume XXXI, p. 64. *Vide* J.O.R.M. Volume X, p. 55. H. Hirt. Idg. Gr. Teil V. Heidelberg 1929. Sections 219, p. 352. Cf. "In German sentence structure, perhaps the most beautiful example of intensity arising from a breach in usual arrangement is the phenomenon called *inversion*" (George Kingsley Zipf, the Psycho-Biology of Language. p. 243). See also Jacob Wackernagel, über ein Gesetz der Indogermanischen Wortstellung. Indogerminische Forschungen. Vol. I. pp. 333-436.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa in the next and last section of the book which deals with the problem of vedic accent, once again emphasises his view that the meaning of a word varies along with the change in its accent. We read in Ṛv. I. 5. 2 *purutámam purūṇā'm*. Sāyana's comments on the word *purutámam* in this passage are as follows :— पुरून् बहून् शत्रून् तमयति ग्लापयतीति पुरुतमः 'तमु ग्लाने' इति धातोरन्तर्भावितण्यर्थात् पचाद्यचि चित्त्वादन्तोदात्तेऽपि कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं बाधित्वा 'परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्' (P. VI. 2. 199.).

(But in Ṛv. I. 127. 9.) *śuṣmi'ntamo hi' te mádo dyumni'ntama utá krátuh*, the morpheme *tama* is unaccented. Sāyana's comments on the two words *śuṣmi'ntamaḥ* and *dyumni'n-tamaḥ* are as follows :—

शुष्मिन्तमः अतिशयेन बलवान् । द्युम्निन्तमः यशोयुक्तोऽन्नयुक्तो वा खलु । 'द्युम्नं द्योततेर्यशो वान्नं वा' (Nirukta V. 5.) इति यास्कः ॥

Skandaswāmin comments (Ṛv. I. 5. 2.) *puru-támam* thus :—

पुरुशब्दो बहुनाम । तमशब्दोऽपि नातिशयप्रत्ययः ।
अर्थासम्भवात् उदात्तत्वाच्च । किन्तर्हि 'तमु अभिकांक्षायां'
इत्यस्य रूपम् । बहुभिर्योऽभिकाङ्क्ष्यते
प्रार्थ्यते याच्यते स पुरुतमः तं पुरुतमम् ॥[9]

Mādhavabhaṭṭa says that because in *purutámam* (Ṛv. I. 5. 2.) the morpheme *táma* is used in the sense of *causing to fade away*, it bears an accent (or more correctly a higher degree of accent, for every word in the stream of speech and language, should have some sort of accent, since otherwise it would be inaudible).

अर्थाभेदे तु शब्दस्य सर्वत्र सदृशः स्वरः ।
यदा न तं स्वरं पश्येदन्यथार्थं तदा नयेत्॥
पुरुतमं पुरूणामृग्भवेत्तत्र निदर्शनम् ।
तमप् चेदनुदात्तः स्यात्तथाह्यन्यत्र दर्शनम् ॥

9. "The Rk Saṁhitā with the Bhāṣya of Śkandasvāmin and the Ḍīpikā of Veṅkaṭamādhavārya" edited by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. No. XCVI. page 34. See also page 14 of "Rgvedabhāṣya" of Śkandasvāmin. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 8.

शुष्मिन्तमो हि ते मदो द्युम्निन्तम उत क्रतुः ।
नात्रोदात्तौ तमौ दृष्टौ दृश्यते तु पुरुतमे ॥
बहून्नलपयतीत्यर्थः तेन तत्र प्रदर्शितः ।
सर्वत्रैवं समानेषु स्वरेणार्थो व्यवस्थितः ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I. i. viii, 1-4.)

It must be remembered that the same morpheme *tama,* through the device of possessing an accent, *functioning* differently in the stream of speech of vedic bards suggests that accent was present as a morphological element (like any other morphological element, as *prefix, infix, suffix,* etc.) in their speech consciousness. For, in this connection, it should be remembered that " the greater the number of different inflectional affixes a language possesses, the smaller proportionately will be the number of different roots occurring in the stream of speech compared to the number of different words (which are really inflected roots) made up from these roots . . . A purely positional (i.e. a completely non-inflected) language immediately permutes phonemes into words which, if one will, are simultaneously morphemes : a million words of connected discourse of a purely positional language might contain one million morphemes, one morpheme to a word. But not so an inflected language, which permutes phonemes into morphemes and morphemes into words. In substance, the more highly inflected a language is, the greater use it makes of morphological tags (here in *puru-támam,* accent) and the less use it makes of a great variety of roots." [10]

Mādhavabhaṭṭa then says when the suffix तृन् is used, the *meaning* of the radical element is brought into prominence. Hence the latter is accented. But with the suffix तृच् it is otherwise. The meaning of the radical element is subordinated to that of the suffixal element. Hence the latter alone is accented.

10. George Kingsley Zipf, The Psycho-Biology of Language. 1935. pages 252-4. It is interesting to note that Sāyana too occasionally is forced to recognise that tone can be used as a morphological tag. In the course of his comments on the passage

यो ब्रह्मणो नाधमानस्य कीरेः (Rv. II. 12. 6a.) he says : ब्रह्मशब्दस्य त्वन्न परत्वे ह्याद्युदात्ततास्यात् । यथा पुरस्ताद्ब्रह्म यन्वानो अजरं सुवीरं इति। अयं त्वंतोदात्तः पठ्यते इति नान्नपरः (Rv. III. 8. 2.)

We therefore learn that Sāyana's theory is that while *bra'hma* means 'food,' *brahmā* does not give the same meaning.

Examples are :

gántāram (Ṛv. I. 9. 9.).
jétāram áparājitam (Ṛv. I. 11. 2 ; V. 25. 6.).
pā'tā (Ṛv. VI. 23. 3 ; 44. 15.).
sá céttā devátā pada'm (Ṛv. I. 22. 5.).

[It is worth remembering Sāyana's following comments on the word *céttā* in this passage :

चेता ज्ञापयिता । 'चिती संज्ञाने' । अस्मादन्तर्भावितण्यर्थात्ताच्छील्ये तृन् ।
'अनित्यमागमशासनं' इति इडभावः । नित्वादाद्युदात्तः ।]

damitā', (Ṛv. V. 34. 6) *bhettā'* (Ṛv. VIII. 17. 14) (*vi-bhaktā'ram* Ṛv. 1.22.7)

होमगन्तारमूतये जेतारमपराजितम् ।
पातासुतमिन्द्रो अस्तु स चेत्ता देवता पदम् ॥
इन्द्रो विश्वस्य दमिता भेत्ता पुरां शश्वतीनाम् ।
विभक्तारं हवामहे तृन्तृचोः स्युर्निदर्शनम् ॥
तृन्तृचोश्चार्थभेदोऽयं प्रकृत्यर्थः स्फुटस्तृनि ।
तृचि स्फुटः प्रत्ययार्थः प्रकृत्यर्थोपसर्जनः ॥[12]

The augment *a* is accented in aorist, imperfect and conditional for it denotes the past. Brugmann (Grundriss, English Translation, Volume I, Section 669, p. 534) says that the practice of enclitising the finite verb when the temporal particle *é*, the augment preceded it, goes back to prehistoric times.[13] The privative *a* is also accented in some compounds like *á-stṛtam* (Ṛv. 1. 15. 5) because of the intention to bring vividly the idea of negation ; the negative particle originally might have frequently demanded greater articulation on account of frequent demands of communication for greater precision of meaning. As the negative compounds subsequently came to be increasingly formed, the desire for economy might have in the long run tended to truncate *á* (that is, to delete its accent) because of the more precise and vivid second member, as in the compound *a-yoddhā'* (ṚV. I. 32. 6.) [which however occurs only once in all the four Vedas.]. If this stand-point (which requires fur-

12. Rgvedānukramaṇī. Part I. i.viii. Stanzas 5, 6, 7.

13. See also Brugmann Grundriss. English Translation. Vol. II. Section 19, p. 37. Vol. IV. Section 462, p. 8. Madras Univ. Jour. Vol. VIII No. 1, pages 73 and 82. *Vide* also Zimmer, *Weber Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 83.

ther detailed statistical investigation in the light of the findings of Dynamic Philology)[14] is to be adopted, then we would be constrained to reconsider Whitney's theory[15] that the accent in *ayoddhā'* is an error in the tradition.

लुङ्लङ्लृक्ष्वडुदात्तो यः स भूतार्थस्य सूचकः।
वाचकान्प्रत्ययानाहुस्तत्राकारं स्फुटं वदेत् ॥
नञ्माहुरथैके तं प्रतिषेधस्य सूचकम्।
छान्दसेषु लकारेषु संप्रत्यर्थस्य सूचकः ॥
(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I. i. viii. 8-9).

Mādhavabhaṭṭa shows while concluding this interesting section that he recognises accent as an 'important' element for he says that just as a man with a lamp will not stumble even if he goes into pitchy darkness, so will the *meaning* (of the speech he hears)[16] be clear to him who knows all about accent or intonation.

अन्धकारे दीपिकाभिर्गच्छन् नस्खलति क्वचित् ।
एवं स्वरैः प्रणीतानां भवत्यर्थाः स्फुटा इति ॥

14. See George Kingsley Zipf, The Psycho-Biology of Language 1935. 212ff. esp. p. 251.

15. American Journal of Philology Vol. XIII. 1892. pp. 299-300. See also J.O.R.M. Vol. X. Pt. I, p. 56 f.n. 3.

16. Which eludes quantitative analysis but which can be apprehended alone.

Jayadeva

By

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Descants from varied lands have caught my ear
From East and West and touched my soul from time
To time and I have known the lords of rhyme
As pilgrims at the shrine of love, their fear
And hope conveyed in dulcet music clear
And sweet, uplifting hearts ; in every clime
Poets have sung of love and sought to chime
Its deathless praise resounding far and near.

But sweeter strains than thine have I not known,
A fuller utterance of love's desire,
Or brighter blazon of its sacred fire ;
A faith more true and constant none has shown.
To richer sound no lips have given birth,
There is no nobler bard of love on earth !

Light on the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa

By

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The Vedāṅgajyotiṣa is an ancient astronomical manual consisting of 43 or 48 Sanskrit verses laying down rules to determine the days of full and new moons, of equinoxes and solstices, of lunar and solar Ayanas or half years, and seasons, and of the luni-solar cycle of five years with its two intercalary months to adjust the lunar with the solar year. A predetermination of these days in the form of an almanac was indispensable for the Vedic priests for the successful performance of the full moon and new moon and other Vedic sacrifices. The work belongs to the pre-siddhānta period of Indian astronomy. Regarding this period the late Dr. Thibaut says in his Introduction to his translation of Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā (p. 55) "The late Prof. Whitney (p. 470, Sūryasiddhānta) has expressed the opinion that the absence from the Hindu system of any of the improvements introduced into Greek astronomy by Ptolemy seems to favour the conclusion that the original transmission of astronomical knowledge into India took place before Ptolemy." According to Encyc. Brit. (Vol. 20, p. 87) Ptolemy's first observation was made in 127 A.D., and his last observation was in 151 A.D. It follows therefore that the improvement of the system of calendar after the Greek model came into use in India about the beginning of the Christian Era. The improved calendar, as described by Varāhamihira in his Pañcasiddhāntikā was substituted for the old calendar of the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa somewhere about the commencement of the Christian Era. Hence it follows that before the Christian Era the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa calendar held the ground. It is not possible to say whether the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa was composed at the time of the occurrence of the summer solstice in the middle of Āśleṣa, or it was composed long after the date of observation in the eleventh century B.C. Whatever might be the real date of its composition, it is, however, certain that it is a work of the pre-Christian period.

It is quite natural that a work of such antiquity should baffle the attempts of scholars to correctly interpret it. The late Dr. Thibaut made some contribution to the explanation of the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1877. The late Shankar Balakrishna Dikshit, Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākaradvivedi, B. G. Tilak, also made attempts at its elucidation. The late Dr. Thibaut found VV. 11, 13-17, 19-23, 25-27, 29, and 41 to be quite obscure. The explanations offered by Dikshit and other scholars to these verses are not merely un-

satisfactory, but as will presently be seen, quite contrary to what the author of the work meant to convey.

The astronomical propositions and rules for the preparation of an almanac of religious rites and festivals contained in the Sūryapragnapti, the Kālalokaprakāśa and other Jyotiṣa works of the Jainas are quite similar to those expounded in the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa and throw a flood of light on the obscure passages of the latter.

The Vedāṅgajyotiṣa lays down a rule to determine Ṛtus in verses 12 and 41 ; it explains what is known as the " Heya " or " Pātya " day and the intercalary month made of the " Heya " days in verses 12 and 41. There are exactly similar rules laid down in the Kālalokaprakāśa which is based on the Sūryapragnapti of the Jainas. A comparison of the Jyotiṣa verses with those of the Kālalokaprakāśa will show how the elucidation of the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa requires a careful study of astronomical works contemporary to the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa. For the present I shall satisfy myself with offering a correct translation of the above four verses of the Vedāṅga in the light of the Kālalokaprakāśa, leaving the interpretation of the rest of the work for a future occasion.

Vedāṅga.

Ekāntare'hni māse ca
pūrvam kṛitvādimuttaram.
ardhayoh pañcarkṣāṇām
ritū saptadaśāṣṭamāu 11.
Yadardham dinabhāgānām
sadā parvaṇi parvaṇi.
rituśeṣam tu tadvidyāt
samkhyāya saha parvaṇām. 41.

Kālalokaprakāśa.

trimśatopi yugartūnām
pūrter māsān stithīn api.
pakṣāṅśca kṛṣṇaśuklākhyān
brūmo'tha samayoditān.
ādyo bhādrapadaśyāmapratipadyantamaśnute.
kārtikasya tritīyāyām kṛṣṇapakṣe dvitīyakah.
paushasya kṛishnapanchamyām
tritīyah pūrtimaśnute.
phālgunaśyāmasaptamyām
pūryate cha turīyakah.
rādhaśyāmanavamyām cha
panchamah paripūryate.
śucheraśubhraikādaśyām
shashṭhah pūrno bhavedṛituh.
pūrṇo bhādrapadaśyāmatrayodaśyām cha
saptamah.
amasvāsyām kārtikasya pūrṇo bhavatī
chāśṭamah.
ete yathokamāseshu kṛishṇapakshe'ntamāpnuyuh.
ṛitavo'shṭāpi thīrtheśairityuktam
sarvadarśibhih.
paushaśukladvitīyāyām
navamartussamāpyate.
phālgunaśvetaturyāyām daśamo'ntam
prapadyate.
ekādaśo'ntam vaiśākhaśuklaṣashṭyām
bibhartyatha.

āshāḍhaśuklāshṭamyām cha
dvādaśah paripūryate.
trayodaśe bhādrapadadaśamyām viśadatvishi.
caturdaśah kārtikīkadvādaśyām
dhavaladyutau.
paushaśvetachaturdaśyām pūrtim
panchadaśo'śnute.
valakshapakshaprāptāntāh saptāmī
ṛitavah smritāh.
ṛitavo'mī panchadaśa
yugapūrvārdhabhāvinah.
itah panchadaśochyante
yugapaśchārdhabhāvinah.
phālgunasya pratipadi
śyāmāyāmatha shoḍaśah.
rādhakṛishṇatritīyāyām
antam saptadaśo'nchati.
āshāḍhāsitapanchamyām
antamashṭadaśo bhajet.
bhādrānujjvalasaptamyām
pūryate'shṭadaśāgrimah.
kārtike vimśatitamo
navamyām mechakadyutau.
paushasya kṛishṇaikādaśyāmekavimśati-
samkhyakah.
phālgunasya trayodaśyām
dvāvimśah śyāmalatvishi.
sa trayovimśatitamo
rādhāmāyām prapūryate.
ashṭāpyamī kṛṣṇapakshaprāptāntāh
pūryate'tha cha.
śuchiśukladvitīyāyām chaturvimśatipūraṇam.
bhādrasya śvetaturyāyām
panchavimśastu pūryate.
shaḍvimśatitamah shashṭhyām
śubhrāyam kārtikasya tu.
sa saptavimśatitamah
paushāshṭamyām sitadyutau.
daśamyām phālgune
śvetatvishyashṭavimśatipramah.
dvādaśyām rādha
ekonatrimśattamah Śitatvishau.
śuchiśuklachaturdaśyām pūrtim
trimśattamo'śnute.
trimśadapyevamritavah proktāh
prāptasamāptayah.
ekāntareshu māseshu tithishvekāntarāsviti.

Kālalokaprakāśa, p. 81, v. 36-55.

TRANSLATION

A new season begins on every third month and third day. In the two halves of five Constellations the first quarter goes with the previous month, and the next quarter with the succeeding month. Likewise the seventeenth and the eighth (of the constellations) are the season-stars. The half a day that accumulates on each full moon or new moon day is to be considered to be what goes to make up the two intercalary months, if all the half days in the 62 months of a Yuga are counted together.

We are going to specify the white or black half of the months and the Tithi-days on which the thirty seasons of a cycle end :— The 1st on the first day of the dark half of the month Bhādrapada. The 2nd on the third of the dark half of Kārtika. The third on the fifth day of the dark half of Pausha. The fourth on the 7th day of the dark half of Phālguṇa. The 5th on the 9th day of the dark of Vaiśākha. The 6th season on the 11th day of the dark half of Āshāḍha. The 7th on the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada. The 8th on the new moon day of Kārtika. All these end in the dark halves of the lunar months,—so say the ancient teachers. The 9th on the 2nd of the white half of Pausha ; the 10th on the 4th day of the white half of Phālguṇa ; the 11th on the 6th of the white half of Vaiśākha ; the 12th on the 8th of the white half Āshāḍha ; the 13th on the 10th of the white half of Bhādrapada ; the 14th on the 12th of the white half of the month Kārtika ; the 15th on the 14th of the white half of the Pausha ; all these are said to occur in the white half of the months ; these fifteen happen in the first half of the cycle ; the other fifteen on the 2nd half of the cycle will be enumerated. The 16th on the 1st lunar day of the dark half of Bhādrapada ; the 17th on the 3rd day of the dark half of Vaiśākha ; the 18th on the 5th of the dark half of Āshāḍha ; the 19th on the 7th of the dark half of Bhādrapada ; the 20th on the 9th of the dark half of Kārtika ; the 21st on the 11th of the dark half of Pausha ; the 22nd on the 13th of the dark half of Phālguṇa ; the 23rd on the new moon day of Vaiśākha ; the above eight occur in the dark half. The 24th on the 2nd day of the white half of Āshāḍha ; the 25th on the 4th of the white half of Bhādrapada ; the 26th on the 6th of the white half of Kārtika ; the 27th on the 8th of the white half of Pausha ; the 28th on the 10th of the white half of Phālguṇa ; the 29th on the 12th of the white half of Vaiśākha ; and the 30th on the 14th of the white half of Āshāḍha. Thus all these thirty seasons end on the third day and the third month from the end of the season which preceded them.

Note :—Each month is considered to be consisting of 2¼ constellations; thus the first quarter of the 3rd constellation goes with the previous month and the 2nd quarter goes to form the next month wherever a constellation is distributed in two months ; but Tishya which is 8th in the list of constellations and Anūrādhā, the 17th in the list, mark the end of a season, though they are not distributed in two months. It should be noted that the author does not refer to Zodiacal Signs. What is called Ritusesha in verse 41 will be made clear while explaining the 12th and the 37th verses.

Before going to explain the 12th and the 37th verses of the Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa, it is necessary to understand what is meant by Avama and Pāta Tithis mentioned in the Kālalokaprakāśa. The explanation of those words is as follows :

A solar day is divided into 62 equal parts and a lunar Tithi consists or is made up, of 61 such parts. On the 1st day of a cycle of five years the lunar day or Tithi closes when the solar day has still 1/62 part to finish. So on the 2nd solar day the 2nd lunar day closes with 2/62th parts of a solar day attached to it. Thus on the 30th solar day the 31st Tithi has 30/62 parts of a solar day attached to it. On the 61st solar day the 61st Tithi and also the additional Tithi made up of 60/62 parts end. Hence on the 62nd solar day there commences the 63rd lunar day or Tithi. So the abnormal additional Tithi is abandoned, and is therefore called Pāta or Heya Tithi. When these Heya Tithis amount to 30 Tithis, an intercalary month is added and no religious rites are performed in that month. This is what is stated in the 12th and 37th verses of the Jyotiṣa. In the course of 30 days (solar) the additional $\frac{1}{62}$ part of each day amounts to 31/62 on the morning of the 31st day. If that day happens to be a full or new moon day, no rite is performed on that day, as it is considered a Heya or Pāta day ; but it is observed on the next day. The first word of the verse is " dyu " meaning a day. The verse of the Jyotiṣa and its explanatory passages of the Kālalokaprakāśa are as follows :—

dyu heyam parva chetpāde
pādastrimśattu saikikā.
bhāgātmanāpavrijyāmśān
nirdeśo'mśo'dhiko yadi.
dyu-ūnam dvishashṭibhāgena
gneyam sūryātsaparvaṇām.
yatkritāvupajāyete
madhye'nte chādhimāsakam.
yadardham dinabhāgānām
sadā parvaṇi parvaṇi.
ṛitu-seshantu tadvidyāt
samkhyāya saha parvaṇām.
Ved. 12, 37, and 41.

karmamāsadvaye pūrne tatah
shashṭidinātmake.
sampūrno'vamarātrassyāt
ekashashṭitame dine.
ayam bhāvah :—dvāshashṭiramśāh kalpyante
ahorātrasyādime'tha dine.
tatraikashashṭibhāgātmā
sampūrṇā prathamā tithih.
eko dvāshashṭibhāgo
yo'horātrasyāvaśishyate.
ekāmśena dvitīyāpi
tithistatra samāviśat.
eko dvāshashṭibhāgo'sya
atītah prathame dine.
tatah shashtyamśātmikeyamahorātre
dvitīyake.
dvāshashṭyamśadvaye tasya
seshe'sau pūrṇatām gatā.
dvābhyām bhāgābhyām praviśtā
tritīyāsmin tatah tithih.
ahorātre tritīye'tha
bhāgasturyatithestatah.

praviśantyatha panchamyachatvāro'mśāsturī-
yake.
* * * * * * * *
evam cha dvāshashṭitami pravishṭā
nikhilā tithih.
ekashashṭibhāgarūpātra
ekashashṭitame dine.
ekashashṭitamadinasyādyo
dvāshashṭijo lavah.
ekashashṭitamatithescharamo'sa
vibhāvyatām.
tatascha dvāshashṭitamo'pyatraivāntan
gatastithih.
evamasminnahorātre
dve tithī pūrnatām gate.
dvāshashṭitamaghasrasyāsya
tatah suryodayakshaṇe.
upasthitā pūrvarītyā
drāk trishashṭitamī tithih.
evam cha dvāshashṭitami
nāpta sūryodayam tithih.
patiteti tato loke
Śubhakaryeshvanādṛitā.

The Kālalokaprakāśa (p. 74) has some Karaṇa verses on the question of pre-determination of the Equinoctical days, which are exactly similar to the 27th verse of the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa on the same question. They are as follows :—

vishuvantam dvirabhyastam
rūponam shaḍguṇīkṛitam.
pakshā yadardham pakshāṇām
tithissā vishuvānsmṛitah.
Ved. 27.

tulyam naktamdine kāle
vishuvadvishuvam cha tat.
dviguṇeshṭavishuvasamkhayā rūponā
shaḍguṇā cha parvamitim.
vakti tathā parvānko
daḷīkṛitastvāha vishuvattithim.
parvānkārdham panchadaśādhikam tu
tithibhirbhajet.
parvānkeshvāgatam dadyāt
seshānkāt nirṇayet tithim.
Ādyam vishuvadityekah
dvighno rūponitah punah.
ekah sa shaḍguṇah shaṭkah
parvānkasso'rdhitastithih.
evam cha shaṭsu parvasvatīteshu yuge
vishuvamādimam.
tritīyāyām tithāvevam
chaturthamatha bhāvyate.
tadyathā dvighnśchatushko rūponah
sapta syuh te cha shaḍguṇāh.
dvāchatvārimśadbhavanti
te'rdhitāstvekavimśatih.

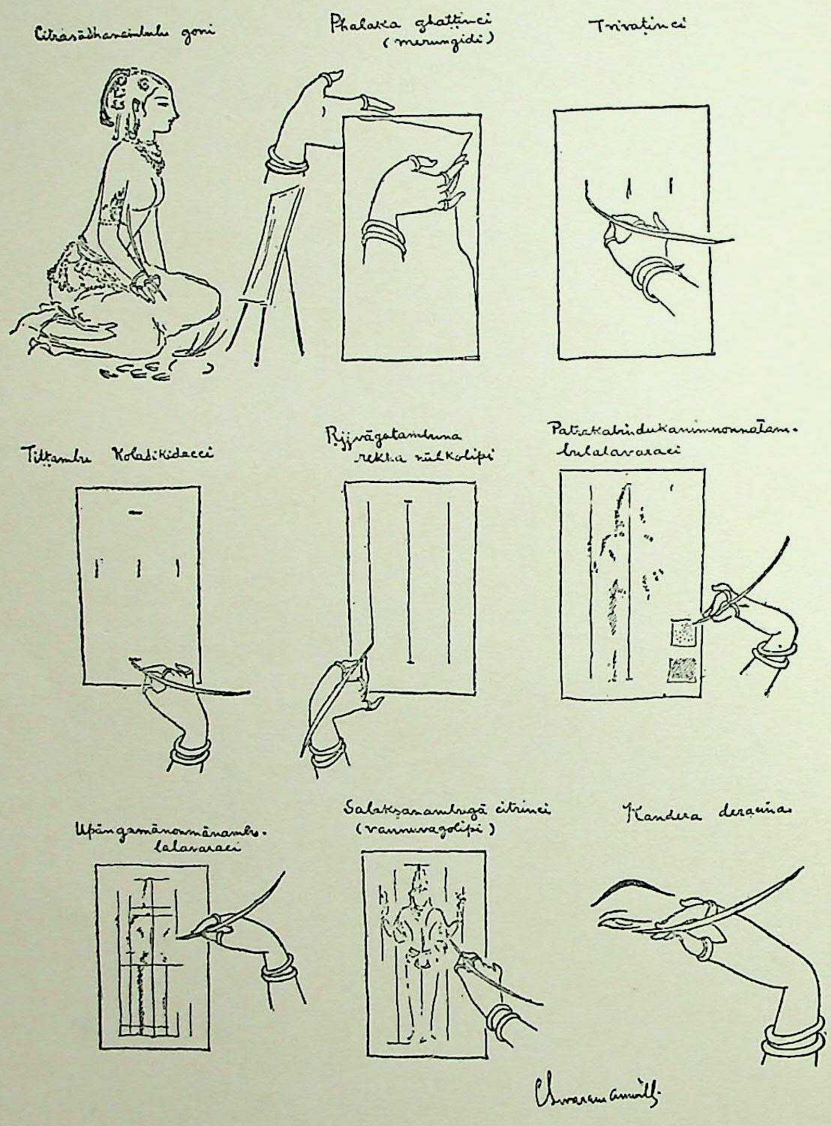
adhikā panchadaśānkādiyam
tadbhajyate'tha taih.
parvasvekam kshipellabdham seshah
shaṭ tithisūchakah.
tatascha syātparvasu
trichatvārimśatyatīteshvatho yuge.
shashṭhyām tithau tadvishuvamevam
sarvatra bhāvyatam.

The number of the Equinoctical day required to be known is multiplied by two and one is deducted from it. The remainder is again multiplied by six. The result denotes the halves of the lunar months after the expiry of which the vishuva day occurs. That number denoting the halves of the lunar months is halved. The latter number denotes the Tithi which is Vishuva in the next half month.

That date on which the day and the night are of equal length is called Vishuvat or Vishuva. The number of the Vishuva day sought to be known is multiplied by two; and one is deducted from it; that number multiplied by six denotes the parva or lunar half months after which the day happens. Again that number denoting half months is halved; and the resulting figure is the date or Tithi which is Vishuva. If one asks on what date the first Vishuva falls in the cycle of five years, the number of the Vishuva day asked is 1. When it is multiplied by 2 and 1 is deducted from it, the result is 1. And 1 multiplied by 6 is 6. Hence the answer is that the first Vishuva arrives after the lapse of 6 Parvas, that is 3 months. And 6 divided by 2 is 3. That is the 3rd Tithi is the Vishuva day. Similarly if one asks when the 4th Vishuva day comes, 4 is multiplied by 2 and 1 is deducted from it. The result is 7. And 7 multiplied by 6 is 42 and the half of 42 is 21. This is greater than a Paksha which consists only of 15 days. Hence it is divided again by 15; and the quotient 1 is added to 42. Hence 43 is the number of the half lunar months, after the lapse of which the 4th Vishuva day arrives. The remainder 6 denotes that the 6th Tithi, after 43 pakshas or half lunar months have elapsed,. is the 4th Vishuva day in the cycle.

Of the two problems discussed here, the first is exactly similar to that contained in the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa verse. The second is a later problem taken up and solved in the Karaṇa of the Jyotiṣakaraṇḍaka which is admittedly the basis of the Kālalokaprakāśa.

The other astronomical formulae expounded in the other obscure verses of the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa are being compared with similar formulae explained in the Karaṇa works of the Jainas and will be published in due course, if similar problems and their solutions are found in them.


Citrasādhanambulu goni
Phalaka ghattinci (merungidi)
Trivatinci
Tittambu Kolabikidacci
Rjjvāgatambuna rekha nūlkolipi
Patrakabindukanimnonnatam-bulalavaraci
Upāngamānonmānambu-lalavaraci
Salakṣanambugā citrinci (vannuvagolipi)
Kandera deracina

A Passage on Painting-Process from Nannechoda's Kumārasambhava

By

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My attention was drawn, some time back, by Mr. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri Garu to a passage on painting in the Kumārasambhava of Nannechoḍadeva a telugu poem assigned to the tenth century A.D. by Mr. Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi to whom the world owes a debt of gratitude for the discovery and publication of a valuable book. The book is highly interesting to students of the history of Telugu language and literature as the only book—and in this there is a difference of opinion—representing pre-Nanniah literature.* Its importance is as great in the case of students of Art yearning to learn the principles and methods of painting in India in the past.

Nannechoḍa is quite facile in his description of particulars that relate to art and uses quite a number of art parables which come n and fit in his composition so well and point to his real acquaintance with and experience of the subject and notions pertaining to it. Such for instance are the lines- వన్నె లెఱుఁగంగఁబోలు నేవట్టఱాత[1]. 'Can a mere scribbler know the (real artistic values of) colours', బొరపగు చిత్రరూప మునుబోలెన సత్కవికావ్యమిమ్మహిన్[2] 'the composition of a bad poet is like a figure full of pores (i.e., like an ill-cast statuette)'*, చిత్రరూపంబునకు మెఱుంగెక్కువిధంబున[3] 'like as shine given to a picture', వనమమరెఁ చిత్రితాట గివోలెన్[4] 'the forest stood like a painted jungle', కసటువోవఁదొడసి కడి వినకనకంపుఁ బ్రతిమవోలెనొప్పు నతివమేను[5] 'the bodily lustre of the lady was like that of a golden image cleansed after its dross was rubbed off', వరచిత్రవర్ణ

* It is held by many scholars that Nannechoḍa's Kumārasambhava is post-Nanniah, and is assigned to the middle of the twelfth century.

1. Vol. I. p.4.32.
2. Vol. I. p.5.37.

* Citra is here used in the sense of a figure in the round as given in the Śilpa texts.

3. Vol. I, p. 38. 282.
4. Vol. I. p.65.488.
5. Vol. I. p.118.912.
6. Vol. I. p. 125. 963.

సంకరముగాదు 'it is not excellent mixture of colours', నిడుపులేక చిత్రము వ్రాయ[7] 'while picture were drawn without length' i.e. without dimensions, which, simply, is an expression of the attempt of the impossible like cutting the sprouts of pestles, bathing in stone, measuring moonlight, etc. That Nannechoḍa was quite a realist and appreciated realistic representation of nature in art is clear from his verse

కమనీయాత్మకసర్వలోహమణిసతాల్పిష్టకానిర్మితో
త్తమహర్మ్యంబుల గండరించిన కపోతవ్రాతపంజుల్ బిడా
లము లోలింగని వానిమీఁదిక లుకక లంఘించెఁ గాకున్నఁ ద
ద్భ్రమఁ బైనూఁగినఁ బల్కవొండెడఁ గడీ పాఁగావతానీకముల్.[8]

'The cat busied itself to spring at the rows of sculptured doves on the excellent mansions built of good dark brick and (decorated with) every variety of gem and metal . . . (The last line of the verse which suggests that the cat was mistaken in its notion about the birds, etc., is unintelligible and baffles translation.)'.

This can well be compared with the verse of Māgha :

चिक्रंसया कृत्रिमपत्रिपङ्क्तेः कपोतपालीषु निकेतनानाम् ।
मार्जारमप्यायतनिश्चलाङ्गं यस्यां जनः कृत्रिममेव मेने ॥[9]

'There (lit. where = Dvārakā), the people mistook (lit. believed) for a figurine even the (live) cat whose body was drawn out and motionless in its anxiety to approach the row of carved birds about the dovecots of houses.'

A complete picture of a painter at work and the various stages in the preparation of a picture is given in one passage. As a thoroughly informative single passage it stands unique; and nowhere, as far as I have seen, have I come across such a complete description of the method of painting in a literary work either in Sanskrit or Telugu. The passage runs :

అంతఁ దదనుసంతాపంబువాపనోపక పరమేశ్వరరూపు చిత్రించి చూచినవైన నూఱుట యగునోయని చిత్రసాధనంబులు గొని పలకఘట్టించి మెఱుంగిడి త్రివటించి తిట్టంబు కొలఁదికి దెచ్చి రుజ్వాగతంబున రేఖనూల్కాలిపి పత్రకబిందుకనిమ్మన్న తా (తో?) పాంగమానోన్మా నంబు లలవఱచి సలక్షణంబుగా జిత్రించి వన్నువగొలిపికండెఱు దెఱచిన.....[10]

Herein are described various stages in painting a picture which deserve a detailed and critical examination. Pārvatī tries to amuse herself by

7. Vol. II. p. 14. 135.
8. Vol. I. p. 122.947.
9. Śiśupālavadha, III.51.
10. Vol. I. p. 77.597.

painting the form of Śiva and the passage describes her activity as a painter. The line చిత్రసాధనంబులు గొని gives us what the modern manuals on painting give us first—the materials. Pārvatī gets ready her materials; and then she takes the phalaka on which the picture is to be sketched. The words here used are పలక ఘట్టించి. We are told in the Śilpa texts and in works that constitute general literature that both paṭa and phalaka were used for painting. If the phalaka was used the paṭa was usually pasted on it. The so-called Tanjore mode of painting is done only on such boards covered with canvas and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita refers to the method in the line.

इदं फलकं, एष चित्रपटः, इयं च तूलिका, इमे च वर्णसम्भाराः ॥[11]

'This is the board, this the canvas, this the brush, and these the colour materials.'

in his Nalacarita nāṭaka where he mentions paṭa and phalaka separately therefor. It is the preparation of the canvas on the board that is meant by the word ఘట్టించి. The preparation of the canvas whether pasted or not on a board is usually given out by the word ghaṭṭana; and Vidyāraṇya uses it in his description of the process of painting to which he refers in his Pañcadaśī in the line,

यथा धौतो घट्टितश्च लाञ्छितो रञ्जितः पटः ॥[12]

'Like the canvas whitened, prepared, marked, i.e., sketched and coloured . . .'

The next process is given as మెఱుంగిడి which means literally 'giving brilliance'. This might refer to the whitening of the canvas given in the Pañcadaśī through the word धौत in the verse quoted above; or it might be some other process by which brilliance was imparted to the canvas. That brilliance was counted as almost the vital factor in a picture can well be seen through such references to it as are found in passages like

औज्ज्वल्यं कान्तिरित्याहुर्गुणं गुणविशारदाः ।
पुराणचित्रस्थानीयं तेन वन्ध्यं कवेर्वचः ॥[13]

11. Nalacaritanāṭaka, p. 17.
12. Pancadaśī VI. 2.
13. Kāvyālamkārasūtravṛtti III. i. 25.

'People who know well the merits of a work know the merit brilliance as (of the nature of) lustre; the words of the poet which lack it are like an old picture (devoid of fresh glow of colours).'

in Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti. The connotation of the word 'cchāyā' in the verse of Rājānaka Kuntaka's Vakroktijīvita

मनोज्ञफलकोल्लेखवर्णच्छायाश्रियः पृथक् ।
चित्रस्येव मनोहारि कर्तुः किमपि कौशलम् ॥[14]

'The capacity of a poet which appeals to the heart of the reader is different from the means he adopts for achieving his composition just as the skill of a painter that captivates the heart is, in the case of a picture, different from the grandeur of excellent board, drawing, colour and brilliance.'

is not different from 'aujjvalya'; and in the comment on it Kuntaka himself gives it out as छाया कान्तिः. Rājaśekhara and many other poets are against purāṇacchāyā in a picture and attach great importance to aujjvalya. In the line

धूमश्यामपुराणचित्ररचनारूपं जगज्जायते ॥[15]

'The world appears (at sunset) like an old picture dimmed by smoke.'

is expressed Rājaśekhara's dislike for Purāṇacchāyā in a painting. The effect of 'merugu' or gloss is well brought home to the reader's mind by Nannechoḍa himself in another passage where brilliance in a picture is compared to the velvety colour in a tender creeper and sweet odour in a flower.

మఱియుం గౌమారానంతరంబున లేఁదీగెకున్మవ్వం బెక్కునట్లు పువ్వులకుందావి వొందునట్లు చిత్రరూపమునకు మెఱుంగెక్కువిధంబున నిఖిలజనమనోభిరామం బగుచు[16]

'After (her) childhood was past (and she became a young lady) she gladdened the hearts of people like a tender creeper putting on fresh glow, a flower acquiring odour and a picture getting brilliance.'

14. Vakroktijīvita p. 144.
15. Bālabhārata Act I.22, Viddhasālabhañjikā Act II.22.
16. Vol. I. p. 38.282.

The painter is then described as doing 'Trivaṭi'. త్రివటించి means 'having done Trivaṭi'; but what the term signifies is not easily made out. The word 'vaṭi' is probably from the root 'vaṭ' to divide वट विभाजने. It might then mean that three principal divisions are made; since the figure here spoken of is that of Śiva in ṛjvāgata posture it would mean that the three important lines—Brahmasūtra and Bahis-sutras—are marked out: and this suggestion may be justified in the light of the phrase తిట్టంబుకొలఁదికి దెచ్చి which immediately follows త్రివటించి as the next activity of the painter.

The marking of the principal lines that compose the figure give an idea of its general proportion. The phrase తిట్టంబు కొలఁదికి దెచ్చి is thus quite significant coming as it does immediately after త్రివటించి and can be rendered as 'having adjusted the proportions to proper measurement.' Decisions regarding the proportions of individual figures in a picture composition which they make up or of the limbs of a particular single subject in accordance with the laws of foreshortening and perspective—important factors in sketching—is emphasised as one of the citraguṇas in the Viṣṇudharmottara under the name pramāṇa. It should here be borne in mind that proportion is not symmetry. When the artist faithfully depicts the world around him as he sees it he is proportionate; not symmetrical. The latter is an ideal condition. Correctly mirrored on canvas and blocked out in proper proportions, the ugly one is proportionate in its disproportionate proportions. But in the case of the ideal one its proportions form symmetry. It is here and here alone that both the words mean alike; and it is just such a state of affairs that is emphasised by Vālmīkī in the lines that describe Rama समः समविभक्ताङ्गः V, XXXV, 16. The first word सम makes a positive assertion that Rāma was proportionate in form, no limb of his being an inch more or less than sufficient to make up ideal beauty. The next word समविभक्ताङ्गः gives us that his limbs were symmetrically divided and arranged.

The next phrase in the sentence ఋజ్వాగతంబున నూలొత్తి gives us the exact view and posture that Pārvatī chose for sketching the figure of Śiva. Ṛjvāgata is one of the postures described in Citraśāstra, the most popular of all and best described and understood.

The different views and poses described in the Śilpaśāstra are an interesting subject for study and have been discussed elaborately by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in his article on *Painting in Ancient India* in the Modern Review (December 1918). He has therein

translated the text of the Śilparatna which describes these view points of pose. There is no Śilpa text that does not mention these pose views and I have explained them at some length with illustrations in the article 'Artists' Jottings from the Nalacampū of Trivikrama.'[17] The mention of the technical term Ṛjvāgata by the author of the Kumārasambhava shows us that he was quite familiar with the terminology of Śilpins. It should also be noted that the threefold division of the figure into the Brahmasūtra and Bahissūtras suggested by the word త్రివటించి is most significant in the case of Ṛjvāgata where the division is of equal parts. It is made all the more clear when we consider the other words of the phrase we are discussing. The part of the phrase రేఖనూలొ్కలిపి means 'having drawn the line, according to the actual measurements, (with the help) of the thread' 'in accordance with Ṛjvāgata ఋజ్వాగతంబున. A line drawn in accordance with Ṛjvāgata and to suit the line of the string, i.e., the plumb line is naturally a straight one and is just for facilitating the artist to sketch a correct figure with symmetrical proportions. The word నూలొ్కలిపి is interesting as the word corresponding exactly to सूत्रित in the line.

चित्रसूत्रिताविव तौ स्थितौ ॥[18]

'They two were like (figures) in a picture sketched (with the help of thread line).'

'Sūtrapātatarekhā' is quite familiar in literature and it has been clearly explained by the commentator of Naiṣadha, Nārāyaṇa, under verse 34 of Canto XV in the sentence शिल्पिनश्च किमपि लेखितुं वर्धयितुं वा लिख्यमानस्य वर्ध्यमानस्य वाकारवक्रिमपरिहाराय मषीखटिकाद्युपदिग्धस्य सूत्राभिघातेन रेखापातनं कुर्वन्ति ।.

There are two more stages of work taken into account in the rather long phrase that follows పత్రకబిందుకనిమ్నొన్నతాపాంగమా[19]నోన్మానంబులలవఱచి wherein the last word అలవఱచి meaning 'having settled the measure of' is to go with both పత్రకబిందుకనిమ్నొన్నతంబులు and ఉపాంగమానోన్మానంబులు separately. In the western world of painters we have the talk of arrangement of chiaroscuro in a picture so as to cover the canvas with

17. J.O.R.M. Vol. VIII. No. iii. 18. Rājataraṅgiṇī VIII.2587.

19. అపాంగ can make no sense here and should be read as ఉపాగం. It might be a scribe's error since there is very little difference between తో and తా.

a proper proportion of lights and shadows. That light and shade are the means of giving the effect of volume on the flat surface of the canvas is but too well known and their proper arrangement requires a study of their values. It is the study of the values of light and shade in the case of individual pictures that is meant by the phrase పత్రకబిందుకనిమ్నోన్నతంబులలవఱచి i.e. 'Having measured the heights and depths (shown by lights and shadows), results of the method of Patraka and Binduka.' There are three methods of depicting light and shadow, namely Patraka, Binduka and Raikhika[20] according to the Viṣṇudharmottara

तिस्रश्च वर्तनाः प्रोक्ताः पत्रहैवि (रि?) कविन्दुजाः (पत्रैरेखिकबिन्दुजाः ?)

'There are (told) three kinds of shading Patra, Raikhika and Binduja.' These are the nearest approximates to cross-hatching, line shade and stippling. Though the third one is not mentioned in this passage it is all the same most important as the only literary reference to the different kinds of Vartana as given in the oldest Śilpa work extant. It is regarding the third name that there is some difficulty because of the corrupt nature of the text of the Viṣṇudharmottara and it is a great pity that this passage has not taken that word into account.

The next stage ఉపాంగమానోన్మానంబులలవఱచి is the measuring out of the different limbs in proportion to the body, the hands and legs, for instance, in proportion to the trunk and the fingers, etc., in confirmity with the measure of the other limbs. This is the method of adjusting the height of the figure with the breadth and continuing it throughout in the case of every inch of each limb of the body. This done the picture is settled in its proportion thoroughly and all that remains to be done is a neat sketch of the figure ; and it is this work that is described next.

The phrase సలక్షణంబుగా చిత్రించి shows that Pārvatī, now that the proportions were fixed and tonal values arranged, sketched out the outline deeply ; since the light values were already thought out we have to take it that Pārvatī actually arranged lights and shadows on the canvas with colours which she is described as using next in the phrase వన్నెవగొలిపి 'Having coloured.'

After describing all the stages of the work we are told that the 'unmīlana' 'opening of the eyes of the figure' was done. This is, as

20. For further information about these different forms of Vartana see 'Artist in Ancient India' p. 195 J.O.R.M. Vol. VIII, No. ii.

we gather from literary references, and actual practice continuing to this day in the homes of traditional Śilpins, the final work in the production of a figure. Though the term 'unmīlana' is used a number of times in literary works it is not so clearly given elsewhere as in the Haravijaya of Ratnāgara—

यस्याभियातिभवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्र-
सम्भारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां
दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥[21]

'In the mansions of his enemies the figures painted on the walls being left dust-ridden in a half finished state and therefore with their eyes not worked yet, (no life being infused into them by the working of the pupils, etc.), took Lakṣmī (prosperity) to be ephemeral just like the night and day.'

He shows that the process is one of opening of the eyes of the figure in the picture, i.e., infusing life into it by working the pupils, etc. This process is therefore given last in the phrase కండెఱ తెఱచిన 'Having lifted the veil of, i.e., opened the eyes.'

Thus this passage from Nannechoḍa gives us a good insight into the process of the work of a painter and acquaints us with some technical terms like Trivatiñci which is quite new to us and confirms some of the statements of Śilpa texts by using the selfsame terms.

21. Haravijaya XVI.65.

A Contribution to the Problem of the Relation between Karma, Jnana and Mokṣa

By

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As the title indicates Sureśvara tries to show in his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi[1] that, contrary to the tenets of the Mīmāṃsā, the true Advaitin, not believing in ritual works helping men to salvation, is right in regarding jñāna as the only means thereto.

The arguments put forward by both sides in the first chapter of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi shall be considered in this paper. The Mīmāṃsaka is represented by Sureśvara as upholding a threefold division of works: niṣiddha, kāmya, and nityanaimittika. But for anybody seeking mukti the first two are to be avoided and only the third is to be performed because it will lead to the desired goal without the help of jñāna.

Apparently the expression nityanaimittika is here employed by Sureśvara as an equivalent for nitya, the word used by Śabarasvāmin ad Mī. Sū. 6, 3, 1: "Bahvṛcabrāhmane śrūyate: yāvajjīvam darśapūrṇamāsābhyāṃ yajeteti nityaṃ agnihotraṃ nityau ca darśapūrṇamāsau." This passage shows that by nityakarmāṇi Śabara understood daily offerings as well as those which are performed on constantly recurring dates. In this sense which is confirmed by the use of nitya in different places of our chapter, I am taking our nityanaimittika though others (Mark. Pu.) split the conception threefold, namely, nitya (eg., pañcayajñādika), naimittika (e.g. putrajanmakriyādika), and nityanaimittika (parvaśrāddhādi).[2] Taking this category of works in the sense indicated above, I shall, for convenience sake, use the word nitya instead of nityanaimittika.

Turning back to the threefold division of works in the Mīmāṃsā sense we take up the argument that by avoiding niṣiddha and kāmya

1. I have used Colonel Jacob's edition in the B.S.S. revised by M. Hiriyanna 1925. The English translation by Ras-Vihari Das (Lahore 1933), being intended only for conveying the essentials of advaitism, neglects the scholastic niceties of the text.

2. It will be of interest as regards Sureśvara's method of representing the

works and only performing nitya works heaven as well as hell shall be avoided and freedom attained without any knowledge of ātman. The performance of nitya works, however, is not to be neglected, otherwise the required purity of the soul would be wanting. Sureśvara's refutation of this Mīmāṃsā argument is fourfold, the first being based on special advaita doctrine, the second on general logic, the third on the teachings of the Mīmāṃsā itself, and the fourth on epistomology. As regards the first argument it is pointed out that liberation depends on nothing but giving up ignorance (ajñānahāna). Works can not help because they are caused by ignorance. This argument coming from the very base of Advaita is found e.g. with Śaṃkara at Br.Sū. 4, 1, 19 where he qualifies karma by mithyājñānāvaṣṭaṃbham. The second logical rejoinder takes a form of *reductio ad absurdum*, well known from very ancient times, that the sentence of the adversary seems to offer two ways of understanding both of which are shown to be impossible. The sentence in question is the Mīmāṃsaka's assertion that works lead to freedom. Does this mean that salvation is attained by a single work or by the sum of all? If a single work is meant all others would be useless; if the sum of all, the impossibility is clear because the Veda teaches different fruits for different works and no one is able to perform all works prescribed for all stations of life. The third rejoinder takes its argument from the Mīmāṃsā stock itself. The Mīmāṃsā maintains that if no fruit of a certain ritual act is mentioned salvation has to be thought of. This is a wrong conclusion as by the so-called Viśvajinnyāya the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra expressly lays down heaven as reward where no explicit reward is mentioned but does not speak of salvation.[3] The regularly recurring rite has the purpose to destroy evil and the offering for desirable ends leads to heaven, therefore, both have nothing to do with salvation. The fourth argument against the Mīmāṃsaka is the want of a pramāṇa for his assertion: As the relation between ritual work as cause and salvation as effect is supernatural it can be proved by śruti only but such proving texts are not available.

Mīmāṃsā view to compare a verse of his with one of Kumārila's:
Naiṣkarmyasiddhi 10 and 13 a-b:

akurvataḥ kriyāḥ kāmyā niṣiddhās tyajatas tathā |
nityanaimittikaṃ karma vidhivac cānutiṣṭhataḥ ||
nityānuṣṭhanataś caivaṃ pratyavāyo na saṃspṛśet |

Ślokavārttika, Saṃbandhākṣepaparihāra 110:

mokṣārthī na pravarteta tatra kāmyaniṣiddhayoḥ |
nityanaimittike kuryāt pratyavāyajihāsayā ||

3. Mī. Sū. 4, 3, 15; sa svargaḥ syāt sarvān praty aviśiṣṭatvāt.

These are the four rejoinders of the Advaitin against the Mīmāṃsaka's first argument for the value of nitya works towards liberation (mukteḥ kriyābhiḥ siddhatvāt). To this argument, however, a series of further proofs are adduced by the upholder of actions. We are now going to consider these additional arguments together with these refutations.

The next argument, i.e., that śruti and smṛti enjoin works in many passages contains two important points, namely, the conception of frequency and of injunction. These two points are being refuted in a double way. The Advaitin, at first, denying his adversary's opinion that a pramāṇa depends on frequency, i.e., on the number of its objects states that on the contrary its authority originates from its very nature. In our case the pramāṇa consists in the vedic injunction and as such is authoritative only for that action which it prescribes. Therefore, frequency is irrelevant for authoritativeness. But this is only a preliminary refutation within the sphere of Mīmāṃsā thinking. From the Advaitin's standpoint there is no question about a pramāṇa as regards the ātman for the ātman is not accessible by pramāṇas (aprameya) but self-evident (svataḥsiddha) and to be got at only by intuition (anubhava) with the help of vedāntavākya.

In the same manner the question of injunction is dealt with. At first, the Advaitin contends that there are also many passages in the śruti which enjoin atmajñāna.[4] If the Mīmāṃsaka asserts that in spite of his earnest endeavour he can not find such it is his own fault. That Sureśvara here speaks of injunction of ātmajñāna (ātmajñānavidhāyinīḥ . . . śrutīḥ 87) is taken by his commentator, Jñānottama, as a looseness of expression because according to orthodox teaching there is no vidhi as regards ātmajñāna. Therefore in order to restrict vidhi to its proper sphere he interprets vidhi as only referring to such actions as going to a teacher for the sake of ātmajñāna. But we know not only from Śāṃkara ad Br. Sū. 3, 3, 1 brahmavijñānasya acodanālakṣaṇatvam but also from Sureśvara's own siddhānta. Hence the seeming looseness of expression is nothing but a provisional refutation as we have just seen it in the case of pramāṇa. The final refutation denies that there can be a true refutation to ātmajñāna for the knowledge of the true reality is not dependent on the will of a human being and therefore cannot be done or left undone as an action. In the technical sense the apūrvavidhi

4. The passage here quoted by the Vedāntin, i.e., Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2, 12 (parīkṣya lokān....) has been quoted in the same sense by Śaṃkara and Br. Sū. 1, 2, 21 and by Rāmānuja, Śrībhāṣya p. 4, ed. B.S.S.

(injunction of something quite new and otherwise ungrounded) is here denied while niyama (injunction establishing something otherwise only partially established for the case where it might be unestablished and parisaṃkhyā (exclusive specification) are being admitted.[5]

Turning to next argument we find the Mīmāṃsaka quoting Mī.Sū. 1, 2, 1: "āmnāyasya kriyārthatvād ānarthakyam atadarthānāṃ tasmād anityam ucyate: As the purpose of the Veda is action those parts of it which do not serve this purpose are useless; therefore, they are held as not partaking of the Veda's eternity." Now this Sūtra being a pūrva-pakṣa in the context of the Mīmāṁṣā Sūtra, there arises the question whether Surveśvara is right in putting it as argument in the mouth of his adversary. The study of the Sūtra-text, however, shows that the Vedāntins are entitled to look upon the first part of our Sūtra as a leading tenet of the Mīmāṁsā which is not denied by the following śiddhānta (Mī.Sū. 1, 2, 7, etc.). What is refuted by the siddhānta is the uselessness of the sentences not enjoining action for they are held to be useful in a certain sense which we need not discuss here. Śaṃkara himself (ad Br. Sū.1, 1, 3—4) in using our argument makes the Mīmāṃsaka sum up his position in the following way": Hence we maintain that the Vedānta-texts are mere supplements to those passages which enjoin actions, notifying the agents, divinities, and results, connected with those actions. Or else if this be not admitted on the ground of its involving the introduction of a subject matter foreign to the Vedānta-texts we must admit that the Vedānta-texts refer to meditation (upāsanā) and similar actions which are mentioned in those very texts." Śaṃkara's counter-arguments are too many as to be repeated here in detail. Though he admits that there are passages, notifying certain divinities and so on, which are subordinate to acts this is not possible as regards the knowledge of Brahman, for as soon as this has arisen there exists no longer anything to be desired or avoided. Moreover release is admitted by all sides as something eternal and hence the teaching concerning brahman can not be merely supplementary to actions the fruit of which are always transient. No actions as meditation and so on can lead to brahman. Although imperative forms, referring to the knowledge of brahman, are found in vedic texts, yet they are ineffective because they refer to something which cannot be enjoined. Their object can neither be endeavoured after nor avoided. Their only aim is to divert men from the objects of natural activity. Therefore brahman is not represented as the object of injunctions.

5. Jñānottama quotes Āpadevī § 241 in commenting upon verse 88. My explanatory translation of the technical terms are taken from Edgerton's excellent edition of this work.

Some of these ideas are also hinted at by Sureśvara in order to refute the validity of Mī. Sū. 1, 2, 1 as regards the knowledge of brahman but his main counter-argument is based on the belief that Jaimini is the author of the Uttaramīmāṃsā as well as of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. In this quality he must have meant his verdict against sentences without injunctions only for the karmakāṇḍa but not for the Vedānta passages which are teaching brahman. His words are these : " As regards your quotation of Jaimini it is based on a misunderstanding of its purpose. Why ? It was not Jaimini's intention to say that the whole Veda aims at nothing but work. If this had been his intention he would not have composed the Śārīraka which beginning with the words ' athāto brahmajijñāsā janmādy asya yataḥ ', etc., aims at exposing the true nature of brahman is strong in deep arguments, and discusses the meaning of the entire Vedānta. But he did compose it ! Therefore, Jaimini must have intended to teach that as the injunctive sentences are authoritative only in their own field, so also are the sentences concerning the unity of ātman because both have the same purpose viz., to determine things not yet settled." We can only touch the question whether Jaimini really composed a Śārīrakasūtra. The evidence of Sureśvara is difficult to neglect. Hiriyanna in his edition, in a note to our passage, tries to interpret away the inconvenient fact, R. V. Das in his translation slurs it over, but S. K. Belvalkar in the Garbe-Festschrift (Erlangen 1927, p. 166 f.) proposes a solution which though needing further elaboration seems to me a possible way but owing to want of space we cannot go into the matter.

The next argument of the Mīmāṃsaka is based on the śruti by quoting Īśā-Up. v. 2 : " kurvan eveha karmāṇi jijīviṣec chatam samāḥ."[6] Of this verse we have two interpretations from the standpoint of Vedānta in Br. Sū. 3, 4, 13-14. Sū. 13 points out that there is no special reference to him who knows the ātman, and this seems to indicate that the Upanisad passage is not meant for him. Concerning Sū. 14 Śaṃkara remarks that even if owing to the influence of the general subject-matter only he who knows is to be viewed as he who performs works ; yet the permission to perform works must be viewed as aiming at the glorification of knowledge. Sureśvara following the first interpretation states that the verse, recommending actions, only refers to him who wrongly takes the ātman as agent and not to him who has freed himself of the idea of duality.

A further argument brings a very much debated matter in which even the Mīmāṃsakas are not of one opinion. Sureśvara in making the

6. The verse has been dealt with by me in Winternitz-Festschrift, Leipzig 1933, p. 212f.

Mīmāṃsaka tell his idea about the nature of sentences is very short and not very clear. Apparently the Mīmāṃsaka in maintaining that a sentence necessarily requires a verb is playing with the meaning of the word kriyā denoting verb as well as action. Now Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta agree that a verb is necessary for the constitution of a sentence and that sentences are required for teaching something but it seems as if the Mīmāṃsaka without directly stating it is an adherent of the anvitābhidhānavāda of Prabhākara according to which the meanings of words can be known only if they occur in an injunctive sentence, for it is pointed out in the refutation of the Vedāntin that it is sufficient to supply a suitable verbal form as asmi, asi, and so on and not necessarily the imperative edhi. Hence the view that this whole direct denotation of the Veda must lie in the enjoining something to be done or to be made manifest, is erroneous, for the Vedānta sentences teach certain accomplished facts e.g., brahman without containing any injunction not even of meditation and the like.

The last arguments of the Mīmāṃsaka consider a sort of admission of jñāna. There is a hint at it in an earlier portion of our chapter which we may replete from Kumārila's Ślokavārttika, Saṃbandhākṣepaparihāra 103. Ātmajñāna may be conceded as something taught in the Veda but it is not that ātmajñāna of which the Vedāntins are talking. "Ātmā jñātavyaḥ" has not been enjoined with a view to the attainment of salvation but the ātmajñāna is being indicated as a cause of activity towards ritual actions. The admission of jñāna however goes further than this merely formal one of the word. Jñāna—the Mīmāṃsaka is made to say—may be helpful to reach the goal but either only as helping member of Karma (aṅgāṅgi-bhāvena) or besides karma in such a way that both are standing side by side (svapradhānatayā).

Now the Vedāntin naturally has to refute the idea that Jñāna is aṅga of karma as aṅgin. This relation is impossible, because if karma is admitted as a means (sādhana) to prepare the ground for jñāna by purifying the heart it has to be before its effect (sādhya) in time which is contrary to the conception of part (aṅga) and whole (aṅgin). To refute this same wrong idea Sureśvara makes use of a staple comparison. Taking a post in the dark erroneously for a dangerous man, people run away. They would not do that action if the right knowledge of the thing had arisen. Just as the right knowledge here is no part of the running away but on the contrary hinders it, so the ātmajñāna cannot be an aṅga or guṇa of action.

Also, the other possibility of the relation between jñāna and karma, i.e., the standing side by side, is refuted by the antagonism of the two

which is compared to that of a lion and a sheep. In every relation (cause, nature, effect) jñāna and karma are opposed like sun and darkness so that the theory of association (karma-jñānasamuccayavāda) is mere blunder.

We come now to the final refutation of the activity theory of the Mīmāṃsā. At its head Surveśvara puts the assertion that only by the knowledge of ātman the saṃsāra can be brought to an end. To prove this he makes an inquiry into the ultimate cause of all human activity with the result that we do things in order to attain happiness and we abstain from doing them in order to avoid suffering. Now the question arises whether the situation is different as regards nitya works which according to the Mīmāṃsā are obligatory. The nature of brahman makes the answer to this question easy. Being the absolute good, it includes any possible happiness and excludes any suffering. Hence the desire to obtain a good thing and to avoid an evil one by performing nitya works cannot but depend on the ignorance of the true nature of brahman. Hence it is evident that the vedic injunctions and prohibitions are meant only for those who have not recognised the nature of the self by which they possess all they want though in their ignorance they imagine not to have got the desired good or to be haunted by the fear of evil.

Hence it stands out as an undeniable truth for the Vedāntin that salvation only depends on the recognition of the ultimate reality. But this assertion only excludes pious works as a direct means for salvation. They are, however, not excluded altogether from the vedāntic path for they are admitted as an indirect help (ārādupakārakatva) to the goal. This admission accompanied by illusions to and quotations from the Bhagavadgītā is caused by the persuasion that dutiful works, if performed without a desire, are apt to clean the heart of man in such a way that he will be able to get at a stage where true knowledge becomes possible. This is summed up in a sort of casual ladder the members of which I am giving in Sanskrit in order to show the parallelism to Rāmānuja's statement in the so-called laghupūrvapakṣa of the Śrībhāṣya. Sureśvara's series : " nityakarmānuṣṭhāna—dharmotpatti—pāpahāni—cittaśuddhi—saṃsārayāthātmyāvabodha— vairāgya— mumukṣutva—tadupeyaparyeṣaṇa—sarvakarmatatsādhanasamnyāsa—yogābhyāsa—cittasya pratyakpravaṇatā— tattvamasyādivākyārthaparijñāna— avidyoccheda— svātmany evāvasthāna." Rāmānuja loc. cit. : " janmāntaraśatānuṣṭitānabhisaṃhitaphalaviśeṣakarmamṛdita-kaṣāyasya vividiṣotpattau satyām . . . (follow Upaniṣad passages) ityādivākyajanyajñānād evāvidyā nivartate." The sense of this is : After cleaning the heart by works, performed without desire, the wish to know arises and by the knowledge, thus obtained of the Vedānta sentences, ignorance ceases.

In the foregoing article I have endeavoured to show the arguments which Sureśvara in the first chapter of his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi puts in the Mīmāṃsaka's mouth together with its own refutations but his criticism of other vedantic schools I have omitted from want of space. It only remains to wish the Venerable Mm. Kuppuswami from whom we all have learned so much many good years yet to come.

The Chronology of the Madhva Pontiffs

By

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Śri Ānandatīrtha Bhagavatpādācārya, the founder of the Madhva school of Vedantins is, according to Hindu tradition, believed to have lived in the twelfth century A.D. The Mādhvas have preserved lists of all their Ācāryas, and these lists contain in particular definite dates regarding the ascension to or exit from the Madhva Pīṭha of the several High-priests. That veteran scholar, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar of Poona, called attention, as early as 1883 A.D., to the existence of three such lists in his Report on the search for Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882-83. A careful examination of these lists which are printed in pp. 202-206 of the Report convinces us of the general unanimity of these lists in their calculation of the chronology of the successive Pontiffs, from Ānandatīrtha down to modern times.

Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar,[1] who was probably the first to write a systematic biography of Ānandatīrtha in English and Mr. S. Subba Rao[2] after him, accepted the traditional dates assigned to Ānandatīrtha. Tradition says that Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th of the dark half of Āśāḍha in Kali 4220, corresponding to Śaka 1040—Saturday 28th June 1119 A.D., and died on the 9th of the light half of Māgha in 1120 Śaka, Thursday 7th January 1199 A.D.

The discovery of the Śrīkūrmam inscription in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam in the Chicacole Taluq of the Ganjam District and its publication with translation and notes by H. Krishna Sastri[3] had far-reaching effects on the chronology of the Madhva High-priests. The inscription is in nine stanzas and the ninth stanza bears the date of the inscription. The stanza is as follows :—

1. The Dissertation of the author for his M.A. Degree.
2. *Bhagavadgita*, Translation and Commentaries in English, Madras, 1906, pp. xi-xvii.
3. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, 1900-1901. pp. 260-268.

स्वस्ति श्रीशकवत्सरे हुतवहव्योम(मा?)द्वयक्ष्मायुते
मेषे शुक्लशशाङ्कशेखर[दि]ने वारे [च]सौम्ये वरे
प्रासादं कमटा[धि]पस्य पुरतो निर्म्माय शर्मप्रदो
योगानंद्नृसिंह ए[ष] भगवान् प्रीत्या प्रतिष्ठापितः ॥

Its translation as given by Krishna Sastri is as follows :

" (V. 9.). Hail ! in the prosperous Śaka year joined with the fires (3), the sky (0), the pair (2), and the earth (1) (i.e., 1203)—in (the month of) Meśa, on the day of the moon-crested (Śiva), in the bright (fortnight), and on an excellent Wednesday—having built a temple in front of the Lord Kamaṭha, consecrated (therein) with pleasure this god Yogānanda Nṛsimha, the bestower of bliss."

The date of this inscription as detailed in its last stanza is Wednesday the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight in Meṣa of Śaka 1203 or Wednesday, 26th March 1281 A.D. Professor Keilhorn could not reconcile the Wednesday with the aṣṭamī tithi and so suggested that as the aṣṭamī falls only on Saturday the 29th March, the words "वारे च सौम्ये वरे" in the inscription may be emended as " वारे च सौरेर्वरे " so that the aṣṭamī could fit in with Saturday 29th March. And this was accepted by Krishna Sastri and all other scholars following him. The inscription records the building of the temple by Narahari Tīrtha, a direct pupil of Ānandatīrtha. If Naraharitīrtha flourished about 1281 A.D., the gap between Ānandatīrtha who died in 1199 A.D. and his pupil becomes too wide ; and to bridge this gap, C. M. Padmanabhacārya[4] and after him Venkobacārya[5] suggested that the chronological lists maintained in Madhva Mutts were untrustworthy and should not be relied upon in the face of stone-cut inscriptions and added that the date of Ānandatīrtha should be pushed later by a hundred or hundred and twenty years (1238—1317 A.D.) as this would fit in with Naraharitīrtha's Śrīkūrmam inscription whose date had been fixed as 1281 A.D.

In page 164 of Vol. IV of the Indian Ephemeris by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, we find the following particulars regarding Saturday 29th March 1281 A.D.

4. Life and Teachings of Madhva, Madras, 1909.
5. Indian Antiquary-Vol. XLII-1914-Sketch of the History of Madhva Ācāryas p. 233 and p. 262.

Meṣa

Wednesday 26th March Śukla 5.32 (tithi).
Saturday 29th March Śukla 8.27 (tithi).

In page 364 of Vol. III of the same work we find the following particulars regarding the corresponding dates a hundred years earlier i.e. in 1103 Śaka or 1181 A.D.

Meṣa

Wednesday 25th March Śukla 8.59 (tithi).
Saturday 28th March Śukla 11.69 (tithi).

We suggest for the consideration of Archaeologists and Epigraphists in particular, whether it would not be wiser to take the date of the Śrīkūrmam inscription to be Wednesday the 25th March 1181 A.D. (1103 Śaka). " हुतवहव्योमद्वयक्षमायुत : may well be read more easily as हुतवह—व्योमाद्वयक्षमायुतः", which will give us 1103 Śaka as the year of the inscription. Instead of reading वारे च सौम्ये वरे as वारे च सौरेर्वरे" to fit it with Saturday the 29th March of 1281 A.D., as suggested by Kielhorn, it seems to us that the inscription should be read व्योमाद्वय (వ్యోమాద్వయ) and not as व्योमद्वय (వ్యోమద్వయ) particularly as in Telugu script which is the script of the inscription the lengthened and shortened form of म are easily mistakeable, much more so in stone-cut inscriptions where such mistakes are possible due to the carelessness of the mason or the ravages of time than to change one whole word सौम्ये which is clear and refers to a Wednesday into सौरेर् (Saturday). If the chronological calculations did not permit of any other alternative, this might seem necessary ; but as all the particulars fit in exactly with Śaka 1103, it is suggested that the date of the Śrīkūrmam inscription in question, may, with advantage, be fixed as Wednesday 25th March 1181 A.D. or 1103 Śaka.

If this were accepted, there does not remain any further incompatibility with the traditional lists preserved in the Madhva Mutts and the inscriptional evidences that are available, bearing on the question. It is the wrong date assigned to the Śrikūrmam inscription even at the risk of emending the astrological data given clearly therein, that has been so mischievously fruitful of setting up the ' modern ' scholars against the testimony of tradition and traditional documents.

Navaratnamālā

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अधीतमध्यापितमार्जितं यशः तथाऽपि नूनं श्रम एव संभृतः ।
विधेहि तस्मान्मयि निर्वृतिं परां प्रपन्न एवं विदुषा स पातु वः ॥ 1 ॥

अवैषि शास्त्रेषु कृतावगाहनो गाम्भीर्यमेषां न तथाऽपरो जनः ।
यथा जिघृक्षुः सुमणीन् महोदधेः न नाविको लङ्घनबद्धमानसः ॥ 2 ॥

भवता पदवी च तया च भवान् उभयेन कलानिलयश्शुशुभे ।
त्रितयञ्च मिथः सदृशं गणयन् सुजनः सकलो नितरां मुमुदे ॥ 3 ॥

विद्यावाचस्पतिरसि वङ्गैः दर्शनकलानिधिर्यतिभिः ।
प्रभुभिर्महामहोपाध्यायो गुरुभिः कुलपतिश्च ॥ 4 ॥

बहुधैवं भूयोभिर्भणितस्सन्नेककोऽद्वितीयश्च ।
बिभृषे ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मण आभामथवा तदेवासि ॥ 5 ॥

आन्तं न विच्छेदमवाप्नुतो यदध्यक्षता ते जितकाशिता च ।
अनुग्रहो यं नियमेन वाण्या भवत्समारधनतोषितायाः ॥ 6 ॥

धन्यो भवानस्ति यतोपनीतं वाग्देवताया ऋणमप्यशेषम् ।
तदर्थिनामेवमनुग्रहेण तद्विद्विषाञ्चापि सुनिग्रहेण ॥ 7 ॥

शिष्यास्सदा श्राम्यत एव दिक्षु साकं यशोभिस्तव विप्रकीर्णाः ।
कृतित्वमेवं भजतो भवेत्ते विश्रान्तिरायुष्यमनामयं च ॥ 8 ॥

प्रथमस्ते शिष्याणां वरदाख्यो महत्त्वयोपकृतः ।
निरतिशयां त्वयि भक्तिं गुरूत्तमैवं प्रकाशयते ॥ 9 ॥

Dates in Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's Career

1880	Born on the 15th December at Ganapati Agraharam in the Tanjore District.
1900	Graduated in Arts from the S. P. G. College, Tanjore.
1905	Master of Arts Degree in Sanskrit.
1906—1910	Principal of the Mylapore Sanskrit College.
1910—1914	Principal of the Raja's Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi.
1914	Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
1926	'Vidyāvācaspati' by the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Benares.
1927	'Mahāmahopādhyāya' by the Government of India.
1932	'Darśanakalānidhi' by His Holiness the Śaṅkarācārya of Kamakoti Mutt, Kumbakonam.
1933	"Kulapati" by His Holiness the Śaṅkarācārya of Govardhan Mutt, Puri.
1935	Retired from Government Service as Professor in the Presidency College on the 15th December.

Chronological List of the Writings of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri

1914-1936. Editor of Descriptive and Triennial Catalogues and Alphabetical Indexes of the Manuscripts in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. (With Late Prof. M. Rangacharya, 8 volumes; independently 58 volumes.)

1913. A course of 20 Lectures in the Madras University on 'Hindu Philosophy with special reference to the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems.'

1918. A course of 20 Lectures in the Madras University on 'Indian Epistomology.'

1919. A course of 20 Lectures in the Madras University on 'Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit.'

„ Presided over the classical Sanskrit and Modern Vernaculars Section of the First All-India Oriental Conference.

„ A course of Lectures in the Madras University on 'Indian Theism.'

1921. Joint-Editor of Padyacūḍāmaṇī (with Late Prof. M. Rangacharya), published by the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

1922. Presidential Address to the Indian Philosophy Section of the Second All-India Oriental Conference, Calcutta, on 'The Prābhākara School of Karma Mīmāmsā.'

1924. Introduction to Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū, published in the Bālamanoramā Series, Mylapore, Madras.

1925. (a) Further light on the Prābhākara-problem, (b) Bodhāyana and Dramiḍācārya, two Vedāntins presupposed by Rāmānuja. Published in the Proceedings of the Third All-India Oriental Conference.

1926. Introduction to Āścaryacūḍāmaṇī, published in the Bālamanoramā Series, Mylapore, Madras.

„ Presidential Address to the Tenth All-India Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, in Sanskrit.

„ Presidential Address to the Indian Philosophy Section of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, on 'A Few Problems of Identity in the Ancient Cultural History of India.'

1927. Madras University Readership Lectures: 'The Philosophy and Exegetics of the Mīmāmsā system.'

„ Article: Sundarapāṇḍya, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. I, pp. 1-15.

„ 'Bhadanta', ibid., pp. 25-26.

„ Aravaṇavaṭikal, ibid., pp. 191-201.

1928. „ „ again, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 79-83.

„ Madras University Readership Lectures: 'Sentence-split, Beginning and End (Mīmāmsā).'

1929. Article: 'Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya', J. O. R., Madras, III, pp. 1-5.

„ 'Kośavān Ācāryaḥ', in the 'Essays by Diverse Hands', Madras Library Association.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

1929. Madras University Readership Lectures: (Nyāya), Thought-measuring Devices in Indian Dialectics.

1930. Foreword to the Naiṣadha, published by R. Subrahmanya Vadhyar, Palghat.

1931. A course of Lectures in the Annamalai University on 'Highways and Byways of Sanskrit Literary Criticism.'

„ Edition: Vīṇāvāsavadatta, published by the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

1932. Joint-Editor of Vibhramaviveka, published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

„ A Primer of Indian Logic (P. Varadachari & Co., Madras.).

„ Edition: The Dhvanyāloka, with Locana and Kaumudī, and his own Upalocana. (Fasc. I).

1933. Introduction to Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa (edited it with a board of Pandits). Published by the Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras.

„ Introduction to Mādhavānanda's Edition of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya and Translation, Māyāvatī, Almora.

1934. Presidential Address to the Indian Philosophy Section of the Tenth All-India Philosophical Congress (Waltair), on 'Pūrṇaism in Indian Thought.'

1935. Madras University Readership Lectures on 'Matter, Spirit and God in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.'

„ Presidential Address to the Paṇḍits' Pariṣad of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, on 'Pāṇḍitya-Vimarśa-Advaita,' Synthesis of Learning and Research.

1936. Convocation Address to the Graduates of the Madras University.

„ Editor of the Brahmasiddhi with commentary. To be published in the Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library Series.

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